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## A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE EASTERN KADAMBAS OF KALINGA\*

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### A. Sources of History:

In writing my *History of the Eastern Gangas of Kalinga*,<sup>1</sup> one of feudatory rulers called the Kadambas who ruled over a part of the Empire. Since Kadamba families ruled in Belgaum and Dharwar Districts and also in Varadavati or Basavasa, they may be called the Western Kadambas like the Western Gangas of Mysore and these Kadambas of Kalinga who were the feudatories of the Eastern Gangas may be termed the Eastern Kadambas. They are mentioned in their own Copper-plate Grants and in those of the Eastern Ganga Kings and some of their coins have recently been found.<sup>2</sup> They are also mentioned in the later Oriya literature and there are still several families living in the Ganjam and Cuttack divisions of Kalinga and in C. P. that bear the name.<sup>3</sup>

### B. Origin and Abode:

These Eastern Kadambas like the Eastern Gangas originally belonged to the Gangetic Valley from where they migrated into Kalinga country in the early centuries of the Christian era. Another branch penetrated into Mysore and Kanaka. Some scholars stated that the Eastern Gangas settled in Kalinga coming from Gangavadi in the South, and the E. Kadambas also settled there coming from the S.W. of S. India. But this is opposed to facts. It was pointed out from the Mysore West Ganga Inscriptions that the Eastern Gangas separated from the

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1. Published partly in J.A.H.R.S. Vols. I to VIII.

2. J.A.H.R.S. Vol. V pp. 349-350.

3. Kalingadota Charitra pp. 285-292; J.A.H.R.S. Vol. III p. 178 & Vol. VIII

main branch in the North (Gangetic Valley) and migrated into Kalinga and settled there long before the successors of the main branch founded Gangavadi in Mysore. Similarly, it must be believed that the E. Kadambas settled in Kalinga coming from the North. It is stated<sup>1</sup> that they ruled over a part of Magadha and then migrated into Kalinga and founded there places named after them and some even left for South India. It is wellknown that Ganga and Kadamba families are still living in parts of Ganjam District and Orissa.

The Kalinga Kadambas were worshippers of Siva. The Kadamba tree is sacred to Siva. Hence probably they were called after it. They have the sign of fish on their coins and on the seals of their copper-plate charters. There is a line of kings called the Matsyas of Oddadi whose inscriptions bearing the figure of fish are found in abundance in the Simhachalam Temple (Vizag District) and it is believed that they are the descendants of the E. Kadambas. The Kadambas probably belonged to the Matsya country whose capital Viratnagar figures prominently in *Mahābhārata*.

*C. The Eastern Kadambas and the Western Kadambas Compared and Contrasted :*

The family God of W. Kadambas was called *Jayanti-Madhukēśwara*. Their original country was called *Palaṅge* or *Holaṅge*. They are said to have lived in *Khetakara* or *Khed* Taluq of Ratnagiri. They also lived in a part of Mysore called *Vaijayanti* or *Banavasi* and were related to the *W. Gangas*. Now, in Kalinganagara or Mukhalingam (Ganjam Dt.) there is a God still worshipped under the name of *Jayanti-Madhukēśwara* or *Gokarṇēśwara* who is the family God of the Raja of Parlakimidi who is said to be a descendant of the E. Ganga Line. A *Gokarṇēśwara* was seated on Mt. Mahandra when the E. Gangas first came into Kalinga and was worshipped by them. Later, at Mukhalingam or Kalinganagaram, *Madhukēśwara* was installed. He is also termed *Jayantēśwara* or *Gokarṇēśwara* in the stone inscriptions still found there. It would appear that the later Kings of E. Ganga line worshipped the old God *Gokarṇēśwara* under the name of *Madhukēśwara* or *Madhukalinga*, from which the place was called *Madhukalingam* or *Mukhalingam*, at the instance of the E. Kadambas who were employed as vassals under both the Early and Later Ganga Kings and who were said to be closely related to them in the several C. P. Charters. Thus, like the W. Kadambas of *Banavasi* or *Vaijayantipura* who were subject to the W. Gangas, the Eastern Kadambas of *Jayantipura* in *Mahēndrabhōgavishaya* (Mandasa in Ganjam Dt.) ruled subject to the control of the E. Ganga Kings. Again, like the *Khetapura* or *Khed* Kadambas of Ratnagiri, the E. Kadambas have the suffix *Khed* e.g. *Nagakhed*, *Dharmakhed* etc., Again,

1. *Andhra-Karnata Jainism* by Dr. B. Senagiri Rao pp. 65-67.

like the place names in the South, we get in Kalinga places like Palaas Pariapura, Tekkali, Jayantipura, Vanavasi and Kadambaguda etc. Also, it would appear that the Early Kadambas were all Saivites. But, while the Southern or Western Branch became Jain, the Northern or Eastern branch stuck to the original Saivite creed established in Kalinga. The Kings of both the dynasties took part in civilising their countries and in introducing Vedic learning and culture into their own countries by making generous grants of lands and villages to learned Brahmins and to their own Gods. Finally, both the dynasties were divided into two or more separately ruling branches.

There are, however, the following points of contrast:

(1) The W. Kadambas have the lion crest on the seals of their charters and monkey-banner on their flags. The Eastern Kadambas have the fish emblem on the seals of their C. P. charters and also on their coins.

(2) The W. Kadambas were *Jains* while the E. Kadambas were *Saivites*.

(3) The W. Kadambas rose to greater political heights than the E. Kadambas who always remained subordinate to the E. Gangas even when they proclaimed an Era of their own which is called *Ganga-Kadamba Era*.

#### D. Their History:

The Vizag plates<sup>5</sup> of Dēvāndravarma (E. Ganga king) state that the king bestowed some villages in the District of Dēvadamana on God Dharmāśwara at the instance of his maternal uncle Dharmā-Khedi. The king installed the *king* form of Dharmāśwara which is probably named after his uncle Dharmā-Khedi and it was usual to name Gods after the rulers, e. g. Bhimeswara, Rajeswara, Ganapeswara etc. The ending of the name Khedi is peculiar and suggests Kadamba connection as will be shown presently. The plates belong to G. E. 25; or A. D. 750. The *Madras Museum Plates*<sup>6</sup> of Indravarman which are believed by Bühler to belong to the 9th century A.D. state that the king who was probably a Ganga King, granted the village of Amerasinga in Jalamvora visaya (Urlam in Ganjam Dt.) to a Brahmin Scholar and the name of the *ajnapiti* or executor of the Grant is Sri Naga-Khedi. It would appear that the charter was written by the great Door-keeper Ādityavarma and by the Great Vassal or Viceroy Sri Naga-khedi. This latter prince was again a Kadamba and he occupied a powerful position. Several grades of officials are mentioned in this charter, showing that the administration was highly organised.

5. J. A. Vol. XVIII, p. 143. foot note.

6. J. A. H. R. S. Vol. III, pp. 122-123.

From these two C. P. Charters, we learn that Kadamba chiefs were related to the E. Ganga kings and occupied high administrative posts and took active part in giving donations to Salvite Gods and Vedic Scholars. Their names, unlike those of their Sovereigns the E. Ganga kings who were called "Lords of all Kalinga," and with the appellation of *Kheddi* which is the usual title of the E. Kadamba princes. We learn this from certain inscriptions of the time of Vajrahasta V (A. D. 1037-1069) called *Tri-kalinga-adhipati* and also from the C. P. Charters of the E. Kadamba princes. In fact, the history of this reign and the administrative machinery of the times are known to us chiefly from these sources.

Four E. Kadamba C.P. Charters throw much useful light on this reign of Vajrahasta V, namely, (1) *The Simlapura* plates of Dharmakedi (J.A.H.R.S. Vol. III, pp. 171-180) which were discovered in Santa Bomenali near Tekkali and which are dated in 520 of Ganga-Kadamba Era. Since the Kadambas were closely related to the Gangas and since they were subordinate to them being their viceroys and commanders and since they expressly called their Era the *Ganga-Kadamba Era*, it must be considered that the Ganga-Kadamba year 520 is the same as the Ganga year 320.

Again, since the Ganga year 326 relates to Madhukamarnava's reign, it is probable that the Ganga-Kadamba year 520 also relates to the same reign. If we now look at the contents of the grant of Dharmakheddi, we get good support for this view. Dharmakheddi, the son of Bhamakhedi and grand-son of Niyarnava, who lived in *Jayantapura* and who had the titles of *Panchavishaya-Mandaleswara*, *Mahendradhipati* and *Mahamandaleswara*, granted in the presence of his *Amatyas* and *Panchapatras* and the *Pradhans* and *Janapadas* of *Rashtra-kutavishaya*, to 500 Brahmins, the village of Dharmapura in Mahendrabhogavishaya in the Ganga-Kadamba year 520, during the reign of *The Illustrious Devendravarma, Son of the Illustrious Anantavarman* of the pure family of the Gangas, who lived in Kalinga-nagara, who was devoted to Gokarnaswami of Mahendragiri and who had the titles of *Parameswara*, *Paramabhattaraka* and *Sakala-kalingadhiraja*. Now, this Devendravarma, son of Anantavarma was already identified by me<sup>7</sup> with Madhukamarnava, son of Aniyantabhima Vajrahasta alias Anantavarma, because in the Later Ganga Genealogy, from the 29th to the 16th king, we get alternately the names of Anantavarma and Devendravarma. So, Madhukamarnava who actually issued a grant in the Ganga year 526 must be regarded as having had the title of Devendravarma and as being the Over-lord of Dharmakheddi who made this grant in the G. K. Era 320.

7. Vide *Kalingadeva Charita*, edited by me, p. 322.

# PONDURU PLATES OF VAJRAHASTA II

(To accompany the articles published in *JAHRS*, Vol. IX Part 3, pp. 38-39 and Vol. XI pp. 7-12)

*First Plate, Second Side.*



*Second Plate, First Side*





From this Kadamba grant, we learn that, in the times of Devēndravarmā and his successor Anantavarma Vajrahasta V, the government was highly organised. The Empire was divided into *Mahāmandalas* or Great Provinces, *Mandakas* or provinces, *Viśhaya*s or districts, *Bhogas* or taluks and *Grāmas* or villages. There were officers of different ranks to rule over these territorial limits and the hierarchy of officials mentioned in the several grants with their duties clearly shows that the Ganga Empire was already large and powerful.

The *Amatyas* or Ministers, the *Panchapādhyas* or the Five Great Chiefs, the *Pradhānas* or Chief Ministers, and the *Jamapadas* or village Communities played a less powerful part than the *Mahāmandalēśvaras* or Great Provincial Lords and *Panchaviśhaya Mandalēśvaras* or Governors of five Districts. The Kadamba Princes who used an Era of their own, synchronous with that of their overlords, were the great provincial viceroys who employed under them lesser officials. Their capital was Jayantapura in Mahādraśhā Viśhaya or the modern Mandasa Zamindari in the Ganjam District. The Gānga kings similarly employed as Commanders and Governors their close relatives the Vaidumbas, the Pallavas and the Chōḍas.<sup>8</sup> Officers like *Mahāpradhāna* or the great Door-keeper, *Rahasyādīkṣhārī* or the king's private Secretary, *Ajṇapti* or Executor of royal grants, *Sāmanthādīkṣhārī* or Official in charge of royal rescripts, *Mahāsāmanthaveigrahika* or the great Secretary for war and peace, *Purohita* or the king's Spiritual adviser and other Court and Temple officers, all remind us of the state of similar organisation in N. India under Harsha.

2. Another Kadamba C. P. Grant of the time of Vajrahasta V which belongs to Darapataja resembles the one noted above and gives the same titles to the Ganga Overlords. (Vide Ep. Ind. Vol. III, p. 222) It expressly refers to the reign of Vajrahasta and states that, in that reign, Darapataja, son of Chōḍa Kāmadabhāja and Lord of Panchaviśhaya and Jewel of the Ganga family granted the village of Hossandi to Kāmadabhāja, son of Brāhmanarāja of the Nagar Saloki family at the time of marrying his daughter to him. The executor of this grant was Ugrakhēdi, a Kadamba prince and the writer was the great foreign Secretary Drōṇāchārya.

3. Along with the Chikilavalasa C.P. Grant of Anantavarma Vajrahasta, a certain Devēndravarma's Kambakaya C. P. Grant was also discovered (Vide Bharati for November 1927 pp. 115-120). It contains on its seal, like the other C.P. Grants of the E. Kadamba kings, a crescent at the top, a fish in the middle and an elephant goad at the bottom. It states that, while Devēndravarma, having his capital at Kalinganagara,

8. Vide the C. P. grant dated S. 967 of Vajrahasta V. in Ep. Ind. Vol. XI, pp. 147-153.

was living in Dantapura, the grant of Revemija village was made to two Brahmin Nayaks by his great provincial governor, the Kadamba chief Udayaditya, son of Dharmakhedi. Since the date of the grant was given as Ś. 1103, Devendravarma mentioned in it should be identified with Anantavarma Chodaganga's son, Raja Raja II. But that king does not possess the title Devendravarma and so the date of the Grant is doubtful.

4. A very important C. P. Grant of Dharmakhedi, son of Bhamakhedi has recently been published and it belongs to Ś. 976 (J. B. O. R. S. Vol XVII. Pp 175-188). It is stated in that grant that, in the 15th regnal year of Anantavarma Vajrahastadeva, his great provincial governor and jewel of Kadamba family, by name, Dharmakhedi, son of Bhamakhedi granted to a certain Ujanaka the *Madipatharakkanda* in Mahendrabhoga *Vishaya*. It is already known to us from the Simhapura plates of Dharmakhedi, dated in the G. K. Era 520, that he was the son of Bhamakhedi, and there is no doubt that the Dharmakhedi of this grant is the same as that of the Simhapura plates. Evidently, he lived in the reigns of both Madhukāmarnava and his successor Anantavarma Vajrahasta V.

The C. P. Charters of the E. Kadamba Princes show that the mountain passes in the E. Ghats (Mahendra Hills) were strongly guarded by them. They were the Palatine Earls whom the Ganga Emperors trusted with such high command and position owing to close matrimonial ties existing between them and also owing to the powerful forces led by the Kadamba Princes. It is again with the help of their C. P. Charters that we learn that a Ganga-Kadamba Era existed in Kalinga and we have proved how it is to be identified with the Ganga Era. But for the discovery of their C. P. Charters dated G. K. Era 520 and Saka Era 971, the initial year of the E. Ganga rule would never have been known to us. We now know that the Eastern Gangas like the Eastern Kadambas spread into Kalinga in very early times and established their rule there till the middle of the 15th century introducing Brahmanic religion and Vedic culture into all parts of it. Very little was known to scholars about these Dynasties till the writer of this article studied several inscriptions and published their accounts in *J. A. H. R. S.*, and in his work *Kalingaditya Charitra*. Just as Mysore History deals with W. Gangas and W. Kadambas, Kalinga History has to deal with these new Dynasties that bear the same name.



# PONDURU COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF VAJRAHASTADEVA

(Dated C. E. 700)

G. RAMADAS, B.A.

This set of plates was first edited in the Journal of the Andhra Historical Research society, Rajahmundry, Vol. IX, part 3, pp. 23 ff. by Mr. M. Narasimham who had the set in his possession. His article was found to be defective in some places and his reading of the text was wrong. To verify his reading of the text, the facsimile of plates did not accompany his article. His speculations to identify the donor, Vajrahastadeva, clearly showed that his reading of the date might have been wrong. It is for the purpose of verifying the date and other things connected with it, I longed to examine the original in person. At last, Mr. B. V. Krishnarao, the Hony. Secretary, sent me an impression of the grant. It is defective in certain places but is clear in the important parts of the charter. I now re-edit the grant as I found it to offer a strong evidence with regard to the Ganga era.

Leaving aside the usual and time-honoured method of pointing out the peculiarities of Orthography, I directly proceed to discuss the points that settle the time of the grant. The first point that the scholars of Kalinga History do not fail to see, on reading the charter, is that the expressions in the first part of the introduction bear resemblance to those of the grant of the Kalinga Kings of more ancient times. I give below a comparative study of such expressions, so that the readers may realize the truth of my statement.

Chicacole plates of Anantavarmanadeva's  
Son, Madhukāmārpava dated C. E. 526.

J. B. & O. R. S., Vol. XVIII,  
Parts III & IV pp. 192 ff.

- 1.3. *prasiddha-siddha-tāpasaśhyāsita*
- kandarōdaradāri mahēndracalāmala*
- 1.3. *nakagiri*.....

Ponduru plates of Vajrahastadeva under review.

J.A.H.R.S. Vol. IX, Part III,  
pp. 23 ff.

- 1.4. *prasiddha-siddha tānkausa-*  
*sādhyaśita*
- 1.5. *kandarōdara mahendra-*  
*calāmala kanakatikkhara*

The descriptions of the Mahendra hill seem to have been adapted from the Kalinga grant of 526th year of the Ganga era. But the praise of the Royal residence seems to have been copied from Simhupura Copper-plate grant of Karlamba King Dharmakhedi (J.A.H.R.S. Vol. III parts 2, 3 and 4 pp. 176 ff.) which belongs to the same period as the Chicacole Plates.

## (A) Simhapura Copper plates.

1. *Amrapurāṇukāriṇa Śaraṇyagā Sukharamantya*
2. *ś Sudhādhanva prāsāda -kulā bīrata lālita lāgyat dardanda pa*
3. *udita Sakalālamkriṇa Sri Kalinga-nagarādhi Vāsaka*

## (B) Pondur Plates

1. *Amrapurāṇukāriṇa Śaraṇyagā -Sukharamantya =*
2. *ś dardandā -dardanda.....*
3. *udita prāsādanūlā = dardanda na*
3. *va vilāsita lālita lāgyat = dardanda Pandita Kulālamkriṇa Sri-Dantipurāt.*

## (C) Mandasa Plates of Anantavarmaśāha, Śaka 313 J. B. &amp; O. R. S. Vol. XVII Parts II &amp; III F T 184 U.

1. *Amrapurāṇukāriṇa Śaraṇyagā Sukharamantya Sudhādhanva*
2. *śa prāsāda -kulā bīratālālita -lāgyat = dardanda - Pandita Sakalālamkri*
3. *śa Sri-Kalinganagarādhi. Vāsaka.*

It may be observed here that the same phraseology as is employed to describe the royal residence of Kalinganagara in A and C is adopted to picture the royal residence of Dantipura in B. The Kalinganagara must have been identical with Dantipura. Both must have been different names for one and the same city.

As the description of Kalinganagara as given in A and C is copied in B, the latter document must be subsequent to the grant C. Since this grant C is dated Śaka 313, the grant under review must belong to an year later than that śaka year.

The donor of the Ponduru Grant was a Vajrabastadeva, the son of a Kāmarnavadeva who had ruled over the whole of Kalinga.

The genealogy supplied by the Navamipatan and other grants of Vajrabasta II mention that Vajrabasta II alias Aniyāṅkabhīma was the son of Kāmarnava I; and that Vajrabasta III was the son of Kāmarnava II. One of these Vajrabastas must be identified with the Vajrabastadeva of the present grant who was also the son of a Kāmarnava. Vajrabasta II alias Aniyāṅkabhīma immediately succeeded his father. The language in the grants of the rulers that succeeded their fathers immediately, clearly indicates such succession.

*Śrīmad-Ananta brahma mahārāja Śata Śrīmad-Daśendra brahma*  
(Simhapura plates, J.A.H.R.S. Vol. III parts 2, 3 and 4, p.179, 11)  
*Mahārāja Sri-Bajjabastadeva mahā Śrī-Anantavarma-dēva.*  
(E.I. Vol. III No. 2, p. 12, ll. 12 and 13)

But the language employed in the Ponduru grant indicates that there was a long time which elapsed between the death of the father of Kāmarnavadeva and the succession of his son Vajrabastadeva to the throne. (I. 5 *Abhāt tadantadantā*). Consequently this Vajrabastadeva is to be identified with Vajrabasta III who succeeded the throne twenty-two years after the death of his father Kāmarnava II.

PONDŪRU PLATES OF VAJRAHASTA II

*Second Plate, Second Side.*



*Third Hole, First Side.*



Scale .5

Then the question may be advanced as to why the Pondūru grant does not mention the titles 'Trikalīṅgādhipati' and 'Anantavarma', the two titles specially given in all the known charters of Vajrahastadēva III. Though these titles are not given in those very expressions, yet the greatness implied in those words is found expressed in so many words in the grant. *Anantavarma* was a title assumed by such of the Kalinga Kings as had made themselves more prominent either by the exhibition of greater prowess or by acquiring greater dominion by conquest. ततः कोलाहलः । स एवानन्तवर्मा भवत् (J. A. S. B. 1896. p. 237). It has been shown in my article on Trikalīṅga Country (J. B. & O. R. S. Vol. XIV part IV pp. 539 ff.) that Trikalīṅga was the name of the highlands to the west of the Mahādra hills, and that Vajrahastadēva III assumed that title after he had conquered it. The expressions employed in praise of the donor, Vajrahastadēva are quite different from those used to intimate the greatness of his father. Kāmārnava-dēva had his feet brightened by the rays shed from the gems set on the diadems on the heads of *Sāmantas*; while Vajrahastadēva's feet are made to shine by the lustre of the gems set on the crowns on the heads of *rulers of kingdoms*. (l. 9-11 & 15-17; bhūpālā-maulik. Was not Kārnadēva, the *Kalachuri* king who was the *Trikalīṅgādhipati* till A.D. 1042, made to bow to Vajrahastadēva III of *Kalinga* and surrender that title? (ibid). The donor of the present grant is said to have worshipped the *Sun-God* (l. 17 मारुतं) and to have ruled over a country that extended to the *Ganges* (l. 18). He must have worshipped the sun-god at Konārṅk and subdued the kingdoms surrounding it, just as Kāmārnava I, the founder of the dynasty to which this Vajrahastadēva belonged, first worshipped the god *Gōkarṅga* and then conquered the *Kalinga* country. In conquering and subduing the coastal plain including *Koṅgoda*, *Utkal*, *Balasore* and *Midnapore* and the highlands to the west of these, he must have made many crowned heads bow down to his feet; and he thus became the lord of the whole country which was bounded by the *Ganges*. He was the best of the *Maharajas* of the family of *Ganges* (l. 19). He is said to have acquired the valour of *Indra Amararāja* (l. 20). This idea is elaborated in 'Yā dīvaś pañcāṅga-ātithiśoṇam aśanīśa śastry-ātthijaghāna' (J. A. June 1889 p. 163. ll. 24-25) and in "Nanāmatah kṣvalam-artihatāpi sa Vajrahastāḥ-Trikalīṅga-nāthah | yā Vajri-hastāḥ-apātham prithivyaḥ Vajram patat-vārayitum samarthah".

Then *paleography* also furnishes an evidence to identify the donor of the present grant. Comparing the form of every letter and syllable of our grant with each of the letters and syllables of each of the other *Kalinga* grants known till now, it is found out that the letters of the Pondūru grant bear closer resemblance to the characters of the copper-plate grants of *Narasipatam* (E. I. Vol. IX) *Nāḍagām* (E. I. Vol. IV) *Madras Museum* (E. I. Vol. IX) and *Chikkālivalasa* and *Boḍḍapāḍu*

(*Bhārati* Vol. II part 2 and Vol. III part 5 respectively). The form of each letter and its structure resemble those of the letters of the Narasipatam grant.

Another peculiarity presented by the document under review is the mention of the *week-day* which is not found in any of the grants issued prior to the time of Vajrahastadēva III. It is an innovation first made in the grants of this *Kalinga* ruler and has been invariably found mentioned in the charters issued by the *kings* that come after him. This adds another reason to identify the donor of the Pondūr plates with him of the Narasipatam grant.

Now we may safely proceed to examine the date as given in the charter. Of course the year of the grant is given in the *Ganga* era (ll. 55ff. *Gaṅga = Vāṇa's pravardhamāna Vijayarājya Samvatsarāḥ*). The previous editor misunderstood the numerical figure in the *hundred's* place by its semblance to the Telugu figure 1 and by the unqualified word '*Sata*' and supposed the date of the grant to be 100 of the *Ganga* era. When '*aśkaṇḍa*' (even in figures) is said we must take the numerical figures to be more reliable. The scribe might have, either by mistake or by negligence, omitted to write the word qualifying '*Sata*' so that it might indicate the same number as was given by the numerals. In revising the written matter, he might have thought it unnecessary to insert it since the correct year was given in the numerical figures. Whatever it might be, the figure in the *hundred's* place is similar to the figure in the *unit's* place of the number giving the *Saka* year of the Narasipatam grant (*E IVol. XI*). The latter was read as 7. In all the ancient inscriptions the figure 7 is given more or less in this shape. (*I.H.Q.* Vol. III No. 1 pp. 107 & 120). Therefore the year is 700 of the *Ganga* era. The last part of line 5 and the first half of line 6 read '*śa-śa māsa dīna 5 śatavarā*'. Therefore the date of the grant is G. E. 700, Bhādrapada (6th month from Chaitra) *sudha* 5 Sunday.

According to my calculation the *Ganga* era of *Kalinga* began from *Saka* year 271 or A. D. 349. So the date of the grant expressed in *Saka* era resolves itself to *Saka* 971, Bhādrapada 8o 5 Sunday which exactly corresponds to A. D. 1049 August 6, which was a Sunday.

I now give my reading of the charter and show where in the previous editor differed. Such differences and any corrections that have to be made in the text are given in the foot notes.

## TEXT

*First plate, Second side.*

1 स्वस्व मपरपुराणुधारिणः सर्वतु सुखरमणीया-

*Third Plate, Second Side.*



*Fourth Plate, First Side.*



Benli 5



- १ द्विजवद्वमन<sup>१</sup> सुधाधवलभासादनाला दधिरित<sup>२</sup> व-  
 २ रविलासिनी ललितलासा दुर्दण्ड<sup>३</sup>पण्डितकुललंकृत श्री-  
 ४ दन्तिपुरवासकात् पसिद्धसिद्धवानेक वसा<sup>४</sup>व्यासित-  
 ५ कन्दरोदर<sup>५</sup> महेंद्र<sup>६</sup>चलामल कनकशिखर प्रतिष्ठित-  
 ६ स्य सचराचरगुरोः सकलभुवननिर्माणैकमूत्रधार-  
 ७ स्य शशांकचूडामणे भगवतो गोकर्णस्थामिनश्चरण-  
 ८ कमलयुगल प्रणामाभिगत<sup>७</sup> सकलकलिकलं-  
 ९ को[८]नेकाहवसंक्षोभजनित जयशब्दप्रतापावनत-

*Second plate, First side.*

- १० समस्तसानन्तचक्रचूडामणी प्रभामंजरीपुलकजित-  
 ११ वर चरणकमलयुगलः<sup>(१)</sup> संकलंकलिगाधिपतिः<sup>(२)</sup> गंगामल-  
 १२ कुलतिलकः<sup>(३)</sup> महाराजधिराजपरमेश्वरः<sup>(४)</sup> मातापितृपा-  
 १३ दानुध्याता<sup>(५)</sup> नयविनयद्वारादनादक्षिण शीर्षाद्यै-  
 १४ सत्यजागादि गुणसंपदाधारभूतः<sup>(६)</sup> श्रीकामार्णवदे-  
 १५ वः अनूत् (१) तदनन्तरेण वस्य धनुः<sup>(२)</sup> विपुल विक्रमोन्नत<sup>(३)</sup>-

1. The previous reader read it as द्दमन, but what was read as द्द has no down ward stroke on the left and below it. So I read it as द्दमन but neither reading makes any sense. I think it must be द्दहनि which means in the day time.

2. Read दधिरित

3. Read देदण्ड

4. वसा this word does not appear in the Coisvama playard and it is not found in Sanskrit dictionaries. Perhaps it is the Oriya word 'Vasa' which mean 'Settlement'.

5. This was read as कन्दरीदर. It is clearly as read here.

6. Read महेंद्राचल

7. Read द्विगत

8. Read व्यातो

9. It was read विक्रमोन्नत but it is clearly विक्रमोन्नत. It should be विक्रमोन्नत.

- 14 नेक भूपालमौलि मणिमरीची रंजित पादपद्मपु-  
 17 गळः(\*) विमलचिन्नाचित भगवन्मार्तण्डवरचरणकमल<sup>10</sup>-  
 18 युगळः(\*) सुरसरिदोषेपविमुक्तव्यापि<sup>11</sup> प्रतापः(\*) सुरस-  
 19 सरितकुलमल सकलमहाराजविलकः(\*) मन<sup>12</sup>-

*Second plate, Second side.*

- 20 र राज मिष वीर्यगुर्जितः(\*) श्रीमद्वज्रहस्तदेवः(\*) रंजुमहनिषये

From L.31 to L.54 are omitted as the lines contain the names of donors and the object of the gift; the boundaries and the imprecatory verses, which matter is not so very useful for our purpose and which have been dealt with by the previous editor.

*First plate, first side.*

- L.54 \* \* \* \* [सस्य गंगान्वयवशा प्रवर्धे\*]  
 55 मान विजयराज्यसंवत्सर शत ७००<sup>13</sup> अकेनापि॥ \*<sup>14</sup> पद्ममास<sup>15</sup>  
 56 दिन ५<sup>16</sup> आदित्यवारे लिखित \* \*<sup>17</sup> अथन संधिधिमाहिना वल्ली  
 57 नितिमर्कशांति पद्ममासुना<sup>18</sup> इति ॥

10. The whole line 17 was omitted in the original reading.

11. Read व्यापिन. 12. It was read as मक when it is clearly as read here.

13. This was read as १०० अकेनापि.

14. There appears to be a figure here but it is not clear in the impression. The previous writer read आषाढ which I cannot make out.

15. By carefully comparing with other letters in the charter I found it reads पद्ममास.

16. This figure was not taken cognizance of by the previous editor.

17. These two letters are indistinct in my copy.

18. This was read as स्थानीजुना which I could not see in my copy.

## WHO WERE THE ŚĀTAVĀHANAS ?

BY O. C. GANGOLY

Notwithstanding the many contributions made by various scholars<sup>1</sup> to the solution of the problem whether the Śātavāhana kings belonged to the Āndhra race, the problem still awaits a decisive solution. I am not aware if any new materials or data have cropped up to help the solution.

Pandit V. Prabhākara Sastri's able defence, translated in the pages of this Journal (*J. A. H. R. S.* Vol. IV, p. 25) has not met all the crucial points raised by Dr. V. S. Sukthankar whose conclusions have been supported by Mr. T. N. Subramanian. That the Śātavāhanas for a time ruled over the Āndhra-dēśa is not disputed by any scholar. The only question which is demanding a satisfactory answer is whether the Śātavāhanas were the Āndhras. The weight of the evidence tends to establish that they did not come originally from the Āndhra dēśa, if by that expression is meant the tract of the country bounded by the rivers Krishna and the Godavari,—the usually accepted limit of the tract occupied by the Āndhras. If Pandit Prabhākara Sastri's identification of Mulaka (Muliki)-nādu with Āndhra dēśa is correct, Sirīṣana (Śrīsthāna) must be a mountain or place outside the Āndhra dēśa, as there would be no object in mentioning it separately—unless it added to the extension of the area ruled by Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śri Pulamāyi.

One concession has been made in the course of the discussion which brings about a change of our ideas about the direction of the expansion of Śātavāhana powers. Hitherto it had been tacitly accepted that the Śātavāhanas, being Āndhras, had their powers gradually stretched across the Deccan, from East to West from the Vengi-nādu<sup>2</sup> to the Western Ghats. In the course of the discussion of the problem, it appears to be now recognised that the centre of gravity of Śātavāhana powers shifted from the West to the East. It is unfortunate that no evidence is forthcoming to establish the identity of any important monuments (stūpas, caves, inscriptions or coins)<sup>3</sup> in the

1 V. S. Sukthankar: *The House of the Śātavāhanas' Annals of the Bhamburda Oriental Institute*, Vol. I, 1913, pp. 31-42. T. N. Subramanian, *Q. J. M. Society* Vol. XIII, 1913, p. 7. V. S. Sukthankar: *The Śātavāhanas' Jour. Bom. Br. R. A. S.*, April 1920, p. 14. Pandit V. Prabhākara Sastri: 'Śātavāhanas, were they Āndhras?' *J. A. H. R. S.* Vol. IV, July-October 1923, pp. 25-28.

2 Does the learned writer mean Kamme-nādu or Kamme-rāṣṭra lying on the southern bank of the Krishna? *Id.*

3 It is quite possible that further investigations like those of Mr. Bhavaraju Venkata Krishnaswami (*J. A. H. R. S.* Vol. III, pts. 2, 3 and 4), on the lines suggested by Professor G. Jouveau-Dubreuil (*Buddhist Antiquities in the East Godavari District*, *J. A. H. R. S.* Vol. V, pp. 131-54), may bring forth new monumental evidence.

eastern centre, during the time when the Śātavāhanas were covering the Western centres profusely with numerous monuments attesting their activity in spheres of political and cultural influences.

Pandit Prabhakara Sastri appears to rebuke those scholars who hesitate to accept the uncorroborated testimony of the Purāṇas on the identity of the Śātavāhanas with the Andhras. While it is the accepted canon of Indian historians not to accept the testimony of the Purāṇas unless it is corroborated by other evidence, in this case the testimony of all the Purāṇas is not identical. Some of the Purāṇas describe the Śātavāhanas as Andhrabhṛtyas which is an appellation which suggests a differentiation from the Andhras, and a relationship akin to the Nāyakas with the Vijayangara kings (to offer a late analogy). The Andhrabhṛtyas may not be, and as some scholars suggest, cannot be, identical with the Andhras.

I do not pretend to offer a decisive solution on the problem. But I beg to put forward a new piece of evidence for the consideration of scholars.

It appears that in some group of literature a distinction is suggested between the Andhras and the Śātavāhanas.

It is not known to scholars (who should be better informed) that various tribes and clans or ethnic groups inhabiting the Indian continent during the early periods, have contributed to the growth and development of Indian Music. Many of these groups and tribes have each contributed, at least one melody (rāga or rāgini) to the great pantheon of the Indian rāga-system. It appears that the Andhras have contributed one melody which is recognised in the musical literature as Andhrī, which is a bhāsa (rāgini) of the major rāga, Mālava pañcamā. In the Musical text *Brhad-deśa Mātāṅga-muni* cites the view of Śārdūla an earlier authority by whom six rāgins (bhāṣas) are assigned to this rāga, — one of which is called Andhrī:

*Viśāhvatī tu Pūrālī Vāṇavantī tu pañcamā  
Andhrī Gāndhārikā caṇṇa sat  
syur-Mālava-pañcamā Brhad-Deśa*

(Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. XCIV, p. 136)

Thereafter Andhrī rāgini is described and its note formation and pattern (Svara-rūpa) is indicated in a verse, and the formula of notation:

*Madhyamānta pañcamānta bhāṇanātha Dhruvasaja |  
Andhrī tu vīratā lakṣa vyādha dastara (r) gīyate |* (Ibid, p. 137)

The second line is corrupt and the sense is not quite clear. But it seems to suggest that originally Āndhrī was a kind of hunting melody. Various other clans and tribes or cultural units such as Mālvās and Drāvidas have each contributed a particular melody to Indian musical system. If Sātavāhanas are different from the Āndhras, culturally, or racially if not politically, one could expect the Sātavāhanas to have contributed a melody associated with their name. This is exactly what we find in the same text of Brhat-Dśāi. The Sātavāhanas appear to have contributed a new melody named after them as Sātavāhinī and the description and the notation of this melody are given by Mataṅga:

*Rābhāntā dhātavānta vijnāya Sātavāhinaḥ |*

*Parasparam ta drīyanta madhyamar-jahā-saṅgatau ||* (Ibid, p. 118)

I do not wish to stress or exaggerate the implication of this piece of evidence but two distinct melodies contributed by the Āndhras and the Sātavāhanas appear to suggest that the two names stand for two distinct cultural or ethnic groups independent of each other. The vicissitudes of political fortunes might have brought them together on identical political arena. The Sātavāhanas may have been the vassals of the Āndhra kings at one stage or they may have been the overlords of the Āndhras at some other stage. But they appear to represent two different cultural entities. The literary data bearing on the problem has not been sufficiently exploited and investigated. I hope this insignificant note may incite competent Āndhra scholars to bring forth new materials from literary sources, which will help us to answer the query "Who were the Sātavāhanas?"

## RAMACHANDI, THE PROMINENT GODDESS OF TEKKALI ESTATE.

SRI SRI SRI

LAKSHMINARAYNA HARISCHANDANA JAGADEE RAJAH BAHADUR

*Puratalavavifārada, Vidpāvāchaspoti, Rajah Sahib of Tekkali.*

North-east of Tekkali, at a distance of three miles, there is a temple containing the idol of a goddess one and a half yard high. The temple does not seem to be the original place of the goddess, as at the top of its gate there is a mouse made of stone, evidently, a signal that the temple was built for the worship of god Ganapati. This inference is further supported by the fact that the idol of Ganapati is seen lying neglected outside the temple. The goddess who has usurped the place of Ganapati was the guardian deity of the Rajahs of Tekkali who used to offer their prayers to her with all pomp and ceremony in days gone by. At present the goddess is known to the people of the locality as Sandamma. But this name is only a corrupt form of the more correct and original name Chandī, a name generally given to the goddess Durga or Kālī. The goddess holds a battle-axe in her right hand, to punish the evil-doers; As such she was known in olden days as *Kuthāra Chandī*, "Chandī with the Axe." From an inscription referred to below the same goddess bears also the name of Rāmachandī. Thus Rāmachandī, Kuthārachandī, Chandamma, Chandamma and Sandamma are the different names of one and the same Goddess now worshipped in the dilapidated temple of Ganapati near Tekkali.

The date of installation of the Goddess seems to be the later part of the eleventh century of the Christian era. In the copper plate grant of Syllada, review in the Madras Epigraphical Reports as C. P. No. 6 of 1919, the name of this goddess appears. According to the inscription king Anantavarma-Chōḍagangadēva granted to an inhabitant of Talagām the lands of the village of Sellada in Ś. S. 1066 (1084-85 A.D.) with the object that the grantee should worship the goddess Chandī regularly. In the same grant, mention has been made of a streamlet flowing at a distance of three miles from Sellada. The two villages mentioned in the grant as well as the brook referred to therein are still in existence in the Tekkali Estate. They are still known as Syllada and Talagām and the brook is called Sandamma Gaḍḍa, apparently after the goddess. Ever since the date of the grant, the grantee and his descendants have been regularly offering their worship to the goddess. There seems to be no doubt that the goddess for whose regular worship the village of Sellada was granted by Anantavarma-Chōḍagangadēva is the same one who is now being worshipped in the temple of Sandamma.



Another inscription of the same goddess and belonging to the same century has been discovered in a cave on the hillock by the side of a tank situated at a distance of two miles from the temple. The tank is known as Sitaghai. The cave contains two inscriptions, one outside and the other in the interior. The two inscriptions are dated Ś. 1012 or 1090 A.D. and are written in the Sanskrit language and Devanāgarī characters. The inscription runs thus:—

- 1 ओं श्रीदेवेन्द्रवर्म
- 2 स्व राजे सम्पत्तिर्था
- 3 विजयपुर्या पद्मचन्द्रस्य प्रतिष्ठा
- 4 ज्येष्ठमासि कृष्णपञ्चमी सम्वात्सरे २३-
- 5 शकाब्द १०१२ ॥

*Translation*:—In the reign of the glorious king Dēvānḍravarmā, Padmachandra a vassal chief of Vijayapura has installed at *Sampati-tirtha* on the 5th day of New moon, *Māhā Jyēṣṭhā* in the 23rd year of reign, S. S. 1012.

The inscription in the interior runs thus:—

1. रामचण्डी
2. प्रतिष्ठा
3. पद्मचन्द्रस्य

"Padmachandra installed Rāmachandī" Most probably Rāmachandī of this place and the Kotharachandī of the Saṇḍamma temple are one and the same goddess belonging to the same century. Perhaps Rāmachandī was subsequently taken out of the cave known as the *Sampati-tirtha* and placed inside the temple of Gaṇapati who had to vacate his pedestal to give place to his Mother.

Who is this Padmachandra? He calls himself the vassal of Dēvānḍravarmā and the ruler of Vijayapura. Perhaps the present Bijapilli which is two miles from this cave corresponds to the Vijayapura of the inscription. *Sampati-tirtha* may be inferred to be the huge tank nearby. Padmachandra was probably the founder of the big tank *Sitaghāi*; perhaps he called it after his mother or wife.

Rāmachandī continued to be the guardian deity of the Tekkali Rājās until the beginning of the reign of the Kadamba dynasty. But the Kadamba rulers transferred their residence to a fort which they had built near the hills lying to the west of Tekkali. That fort was known as Chintāmaṇi-gaḍh. This Chintāmaṇi-gaḍh was far away from the temple of Rāmachandī. So a custom grew up at Chintāmaṇi: as it was not possible to directly worship the Goddess her glass bangles and her

*kunkuma* "vermillion" came to be worshipped; these two articles representing the Goddess were kept near one of the gates of the fortress. That gate therefore was called *Mula Durga Dvāra* i.e. the gate of the original Durga, another name of Rāmachandī. Even now at the place where the remains of the Chintāmani fort are found, there is a place known as Dura mula (a changed form of Mula Durga) where the custom of worshipping the *kunkuma* and bangles of the Goddess still continues. It is from this place that leaves of the Bilva tree are plucked for ceremonial worship of the Goddess by the Rajahs of Tekkali.

Near the temple of Sandamma there were many other temples which are now all in ruins. Stones from these ruined edifices were taken away to build the present *Rādhākrishṇa* temple at Tekkali. One of the pillars found near the spot contains a stone inscription. The stone was brought from the Sandamma's temple. The inscription is written in the Oriya language but in Devanagari characters. It is as follows:—

- 1 ओं श्रीरानी गजपति राज
- 2 देवप्र प्रताप/क/राजे
- 3 शर्मादेवमहाराजाह
- 4 र विजे राजे
- 5 स्त ९ अष्टे श्री
- 6 जगद्वती \* \* \*

"The glorious and powerful Maharaja Gajapati Svarṇa Deva, King of Gauda, conquered the kingdom in his 9th regnal year (*Vijayāṅkarāṇya* era) on the *Vijayāṣṭami* day.

This day of *Vijayāṣṭami* is the sacred day of Goddess Vijaya or Durga. Mahārāja Svarṇa Deva was the ruler of Parākimidi from 1550—1550 A. D. Rāmachandī temple and its surroundings must have been very important and in good condition to attract Svarṇa Deva to get his conquest inscribed on a stone pillar belonging to this temple. The temple would appear therefore to have been in a flourishing condition down to the close of the 16th century A. D.

## THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE VICTORIOUS GĀNGA ERA\*

B. V. KRISHNA RAO, B.A., B.L.

The commencement of the victorious Gānga Era has been a baffling problem to our scholars. Several of them, notably the late Dr. J. F. Fleet, Mr. G. Ramadas, Mr. R. Subba Rao and others have during past endeavoured to determine the starting-point of the Gānga Era and to adjust the Gānga chronology, but none of them have been able so far to put forward any satisfactory results. Dr. Fleet abandoned the study of the problem of the Gānga Era in utter despair as the synchronism furnished by the Gōdāvari grant of Pṛthivīmūla and the identification of Indrabhaṭṭāraka lord of the southern or south western region mentioned therein, with the king Indrabhaṭṭāraka of the Eastern Chōlucyan dynasty were found to be utterly incompatible with the dates obtained by the conversion of the astronomical details recorded in the early Eastern Gānga grants discovered in his time.<sup>1</sup> Mr. G. Ramadas on the other hand obsessed by certain pre conceived notions and without any regard for the chronology of the contemporary dynasties of the Deccan and leading political events has propounded a date which has brought in more confusion than ever.<sup>2</sup> His initial year (349 A.D.) of the Gānga era cannot therefore be regarded as a satisfactory result. Mr. R. Subba Rao who claims to have made a critical study of the history of Eastern Gāngas of Kalings fixes the starting-point of the Gānga Era sometime between 492 and 496;<sup>3</sup> but his theory lacks precision and completeness. It does not also stand to any astronomical test by the recorded details in the charters of the dynasty which yield to conversion into the dates of the Christian era. Mr. Sōmasēkhara Sarma on the contrary has not formulated any scheme of his own but has chosen to criticise and reject Mr. R. Subba Rao's theory of the synchronism afforded by the Gōdāvari grant of Pṛthivīmūla as the basis of discussion for determining the commencement of the Gānga era.<sup>4</sup>

Since Dr. Fleet wrote about the Gānga Era roughly fifty years ago much new material had come to light; and as it does not seem to have been properly handled till now, the problem of the Gānga era has not been satisfactorily settled. An attempt will now be made to fix the

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1. *I. A.* Vol. VI, p. 121f. See also *I. A.* Vol. XIII, p. 198f.

2. *J.S.O.R.S.* Vol. XVII, p. 272-283.

3. *J.A.H.R.S.* Vol. V, pp. 267-276.

4. *J.A.H.R.S.* Vol. V, pp. 171-186.

starting-point of the Gāṅga era by studying all the available material afresh.

The limits within which the starting-point of the *Victorious Gāṅga Era* lay, have got to be fixed at the very outset. They are very happily furnished by certain facts mentioned in the charters of the Gāṅga dynasty itself and by a synchronism recorded in an early contemporary record.<sup>5</sup> The victorious era of the prosperous Gāṅga lineage<sup>6</sup> is mentioned in the copper-plate charters of the dynasty even as late as the eleventh century. And the internal evidence that is forthcoming from such of those documents enables us to determine precisely the period wherein lay the beginning of the "Victorious Gāṅga Era." The clue for the discovery of that period lies imbedded in the Gāṅga-Kadamba history of Kalinga. There are a number of records which establish the Gāṅga-Kadamba alliance from the earliest times. This historical fact supplies us the basis for the examination of the problem of the starting-point of the Gāṅga era. The earliest of such records is the Viragapatam copper-plate grant of Anantavarman's son Dēvēndravarmā (II) dated in 354th year of the (Gāṅga) era.<sup>7</sup> It refers to a nobleman Dharmakhōdi who is referred to as the maternal uncle of the reigning king Dēvēndravarmā. The next record is the Sihhīpura copper-plate grant of the Kadamba chieftain Dharmakhōdi II (?) dated in the year 320 of the augmenting victorious era of the Gāṅga and Kadamba families: "*Gāṅga-Kadamba vamsa pravardhamāna vijaya-rāṣya pañcā-tala-vimśottarā*"<sup>8</sup> It was issued in the reign of the Gāṅga king Dēvēndravarmā (V) son of Anantavarmadeva (III). The record gives the ancestry of the donor Dharmakhōdi up to three generations above, in the Kadamba family as follows:—

		Mahāmādhātave Rājaka Śrī Nityāṅṇava
..	..	Śrī Bhāma (Bhāma) (?)
..	..	Śrī Dharmakhōdi (the donor)

The inscription states that the *Mahēndrādhipati*, Rājaka Śrī Dharmakhōdi, granted the village of Dharmapura in the district of Mahēndra-bhāga, which was apparently under his rulership, to two brothers as an *agrahāra* in the Gāṅga-Kadamba year 320, during the reign of Dēvēndra-brahma or Dēvēndravarmā and evidently under the latter's sanction or approval. The relationship between Dēvēndravarmā (V) and his Kadamba feudatory Dharmakhōdi is not specified in the record but it is probable that both the princes were related to each other by ties of blood as in the previous case, because the grant is dated in the victorious era of the

5. I.A. Vol. XVIII, p. 143f, text line 37. The record does not specially mention the term *Gaṅga* but from the context we have to construe it as such.

6. J.A.H.R.S. Vol. III, p. 171f, text line 37.

Gāṅga and Kadamba families. The third record is the Chicacole plates of Anantavarman's son Madhukāmārjaya, dated in the year 526 of the Gāṅga era.<sup>7</sup> This inscription does not mention any Kadamba prince but its importance lies in the fact that the donor of this charter Madhukāmārjaya is also described as the son of Anantavarmaḍva like Dēvēndravarmaṇ (V) of the preceding record. Consequently it seems probable that Madhukāmārjaya was a younger brother and, the successor of Dēvēndravarmaṇ (V) of the year 520 of the Gāṅga-Kadamba era. The pedigree of the Eastern Gāṅga kings found in the charters of Vajrahasta III surnamed Anantavarman, (1038-1069 A. D.) dated in the years S.S. 967,<sup>8</sup> S.S. 979,<sup>9</sup> and S.S. 981;<sup>10</sup> shows that Madhukāmārjaya of the Gāṅga year 526 was the younger step-brother of Guḍamaśāha Dēvēndravarmaṇ who reigned for a short period of three years and who was the immediate predecessor of Vajrahasta III. The fourth record, known as the Paṇḍikimeḍi plates of Vajrahasta III, mentions another Kadamba chieftain by name Ugrakhēḍi, the ornament of the Kadamba lineage, who was born in the Niḍasaṇṇi family.<sup>11</sup> The charter is not dated but it obviously belongs to the period of Vajrahasta III. There is a fifth record, the Mandana copper-plate grant of Anantavarman, dated in the Śaka year 976 (*Sakābda-nand-jataka-sapta-rasa mite*), which mentions another Kadamba chieftain, Rāṇaka Śrī Dharmakhēḍi son of Rāṇaka Śrī Bhāṇikhēḍi, the governor of the Pañchāpātra-viśākhya and Mahendra āśaya districts.<sup>12</sup> The name Anantavarman would appear to be the *abhiśāhbandha*<sup>13</sup> (name adopted at the time of coronation) of the great king Vajrahasta III, for the Śaka year 976 falls in the reign of this monarch. There is a sixth record on copper-plates of the reign of Dēvēndravarmaṇ which comes from Kambakāya, a village in Chicacole taluk of the Vizagapatam district.<sup>14</sup> It mentions another chieftain, Mahāmāṇḍalika Udayāditya, son of Mahāmāṇḍalika Śrī Dharmakhēḍi, the ornament of the Kadamba family. The record is dated in the Śaka year but a good deal of uncertainty attends on the interpretation of the passage which mentions the date. The record is in faulty Sanskrit and therefore the interpretation of the passage has been the subject of good deal of controversy. Mr. Somasekhara Sarma, who edited the record restores the faulty Sanskrit passage which runs as *Sakābda sahasram-śka-*

7. J. E. O. B. S. Vol. XVIII, pp. 272ff. C. P. No. 6 of 1918-19.

8. E. I. Vol. XI, p. 147.

9. E. I. Vol. IV p. 180f.

10. E. I. Vol. IX p. 98f.

11. E. I. Vol. III, p. 233f.

12. J.E.O.B.S. Vol. XVII, pp. 172ff. (C.P. No. 12 of 1917-18)

13. It would appear that the Eastern Gāṅgas had alternatively adopted the name alternatively Anantavarman and Dēvēndravarmaṇ as their *abhiśāha* name or coronation names like the Eastern Chalukyas who called themselves Viśhṇu-varḍhana and Vijayāditya in every alternate generation.

*tata-trayādhika* into correct Sanskrit as *Śakābde-sahasrikā tata-trayādhikā* and interprets it so as to yield the S. S. 1103.<sup>14</sup> But the correct or proper restoration of the above passage seems to be *Śakābde sahasramikā-trayādhikā* meaning in the Śaka year one thousand increased by three i.e. 1003 corresponding to 1081-82 A.D.<sup>15</sup>

All the above six records of the Eastern Gāṅga dynasty seem to establish clearly the following facts: Firstly, the Gāṅga and Kadamba families of Kalinga were closely related to each other by marital ties and other alliances. Secondly, their relationship was as old as the Gāṅga sovereignty or the establishment of the Gāṅga-Kadamba sovereignty in Kalinga. Thirdly, the Gāṅga era (*Gāṅga-vamśa-pravarddhamaṇa vijayarāja samvatara*) and the Gāṅga-Kadamba era (*Gāṅga-Kadamba vamśa-pravarddhamaṇa vijayarāja samvatara*) were one and the same. Fourthly, the Later Gāṅga dynasty or the Second Dynasty as the same is called, descended from or rather was a branch of the Earlier or the First Gāṅga dynasty. Fifthly, the Gāṅga-Kadamba year 520 and the Gāṅga year 526 fell some years before the Śaka Samvat 976, that is prior to the reign of Vajrahasta III, (1038-1069 A.D.) And sixthly, the Gāṅga era would consequently seem to have commenced somewhere either in the closing years of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century A.D.

Let us now turn to the synchronism of the contemporary charters of the Early Gāṅgas and test the result obtained above regarding the probable limits within which lay the starting-point of the Gāṅga era. The Gōdāvari grant of Rāja Prithivīmalla records by means of a figurative expression, a great political event of leading importance in respect of the early history of the Eastern Gāṅgas of Tri-Kalinga. It refers to a decisive battle that took place between Indrabhaṭṭāraka lord of the southern or south-western region i.e. Vāṅgi or more properly speaking Āṇḍhradēśa and a confederacy of kings led by *Adhirāja* Indra ruler of the northern or north-eastern quarter, or Kalinga or Tri-Kalinga, in which the former was apparently defeated and killed. Prithivīmalla, lord of the victorious city of Kāṇḍālī a place which has not been till now satisfactorily identified, and son of *Makārāja* Prabhākara was a vassal of *Adhirāja* Indra lord of the eastern or north-eastern quarter. He was evidently one of those kings who desired to overthrow Indrabhaṭṭāraka and therefore joined *Adhirāja* Indra and the formidable confederacy of hostile kings. Dr. Fleet, who published the charter, assigned the record on palaeographical grounds to the sixth century A. D. Indrabhaṭṭāraka of the southern or

14. C.P. No 3 of 1897-98. *Śāstrī*, Vol. VII, 1907, Part V.

15. *J.A.H.R.S.* Vol. X, p. 116-117. Here Mr. G. Ramadas discusses the date and assumes that the passage yields the date S.S. 603. But see my view to the contrary which is also published in the same *J.A.H.R.S.* Vol. X, p. 120. I regret I cannot follow the arguments of Mr. Ramadas Pantulu in his interpretation of the passage giving the date.



south-eastern quarter has been identified correctly with Indrabhattāraka of the Vishukunḍin dynasty of Andhra and *Adhīrāja* Indra of the northern or north-eastern quarter with Mahārāja Indravarman the donor of the Jirjiri plates, who belonged to the spotless Gāṅga family and who called himself 'lord of Tri-Kalinga.' According to the Vishukunḍin chronology proposed by me elsewhere Indrabhattāraka's reign would fall roughly about 500—530 A. D. His opponent *Adhīrāja* Indravarman of Tri-Kalinga, therefore, must be placed about the same period.

The Godavari grant of Prthivīmūla though not dated in any well known Śaka or any other era mentions, however, the date on which the charter was made. It was dated the 3rd day of Vaiśākha in the 33th year of the victorious rule of Prthivīmūla. The edict records the grant of a village named Couṣṭhika, situated in the centre of four villages namely, Vilendi, Bengota, Kashpāru and Tukura, as an *agrāhāra* to forty three families of brāhmanas who study the Atharva Vēda, "born in the families of the *Upādhyāyas* and belonging to many *gōtrās*." The command was addressed to the inhabitants headed by the Rāshtrakūṭas dwelling in the Tāṇḍika-vishaya. The grant was made at the behest of the overlord *Adhīrāja* Indra who desired that his parents might thereby acquire religious merit. Apparently the charity was made after the fall of Indrabhattāraka at the hands of the confederacy of hostile kings that was led by *Adhīrāja* Indra. For, the localities mentioned in the charter lay in the heart of the Vishukunḍin dominions, and Prthivīmūla could not have made a grant of a village as an *agrāhāra* without the sanction or approval of the sovereign Indrabhattāraka if he were then alive on that date. More than that, the record plainly refers to the overthrow of Indrabhattāraka. All these facts lead to the irresistible conclusion that the Godavari grant of Prthivīmūla was issued shortly after the overthrow of Indrabhattāraka, which has been placed about 530 A. D. And this would indicate that Prthivīmūla and his overlord *Adhīrāja* Indra of Kalinga survived Indrabhattāraka of Andhradśa.

The Jirjiri plates of Indravarman who has been correctly identified with *Adhīrāja* Indra of the Godavari grant of Prthivīmūla, take us one step further. The record was dated the 21st day of Vaiśākha in the 39th year of the prosperous era. The formal portion of the preamble of this record suggests plainly that Mahārāja Indravarman destroyed his foe, presumably Indrabhattāraka, after obtaining victories in several battles fought with four-tusked elephants (*Chaturddanta*). The occurrence of the epithet *aneka-chaturiddanta samara samghatta vijayī* in all the three records, namely of Indrabhattāraka, Prthivīmūla and Indravarman, and the reference to the *Chaturddanta* elephant combats, strongly suggest that the three princes were more or less contemporaries. Since the reign of Indrabhattāraka is believed to have ended about 530 A.D. it is probable that the 39th year of the victorious era recorded

in the Jirjāgi plates lay sometime after 530 A.D., and accordingly, the era must have commenced sometime during the closing years of the fifth century. Thus the result obtained by a discussion of the facts mentioned in the synchronism of the Gōdāvari grant of Prithivīmūla and the Jirjāgi plates of Mahārāja Indravarman is in complete agreement with the limits arrived at after an examination of the later Eastern Gāṅga records.

We shall now proceed to examine the limits more closely with the help of such astronomical details and occurrences recorded in the charters of the family that yield to calculation and conversion into dates of the Christian era and determine the precise date of the commencement of the Gāṅga era. Dr. Fleet, while editing the Gāṅga grant of Indravarman II of the 91st year of the Gāṅga era<sup>16</sup> expressed the hope that the eclipse of the moon of the full moon day of Mārgaśīra in the year 127 recorded in the charter dated the 15th day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra of the year 128 of the Gāṅga era coupled with the details of the date in the grant under review, that is the 30th day of Māgha in the year 91<sup>17</sup> might very possibly yield hereafter the precise date for the commencement of the Gāṅga era. Now then, taking the last decade of the fifth century A.D. as the probable period in which the initial year of the Gāṅga era lay the eclipse of the moon of the full moon day of Mārgaśīra in the year 127 has to be looked for between 617 and 627 A.D. corresponding to the Śaka years 539 to 549 expired. During this period of ten years there occurred the following eclipses of the moon on the fullmoon *tithi* of Mārgaśīra.

Śaka Sathvat 546 expired = 30th November 624 A. D.

Śaka Sathvat 547 expired = 30th November 625 A. D.

Śaka Sathvat 548 expired = 9th November 626 A. D.

And, therefore, for the present it may be assumed that the lunar eclipse of the fullmoon *tithi* of Mārgaśīra in the year 127 must be one of the three eclipses noted above.

The other date of leading importance is the 30th day of Māgha of the 91st year. This date is important because it is unusual, for the discovery of the month Māgha which had thirty solar days in the 91st year of the Gāṅga era which would be in suitable accordance with one of the eclipses of the fullmoon day of Mārgaśīra in the year 127 Gāṅga Sathvat noted above will easily enable us to fix the starting-point of the Gāṅga era. Evidently in the Gāṅga era 91 there were thirty days in the month of Māgha and, therefore, it was an unusual occurrence. Taking now the limits for the commencement of the Gāṅga era as before and regard being had for the dates of three eclipses mentioned above, the 30th day

<sup>16</sup> *I. A.* Vol. XIII, p. 119f.

<sup>17</sup> *I. A.* Vol. XVI, p. 127f.

of Māgha in Gānga Samvat 91 has to be found between 581 and 591 A.D. corresponding to the current Śaka years 502 and 512 respectively. During this period in Ś. S. 510 alone, the month of Māgha had *thirty* solar days. In that year, the month Māgha was current from 23rd December 588 A. D. to the 22nd January 589 A. D. The Pausa *amānta* newmoon began and ended on the 23rd December at about 43 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise and Māgha *Sukla* 1 commenced on the 24th December 588 A. D. And Māgha *bhāda* 30 (*amānta*) was current on the 22nd January 589 A. D. and ended about 15 *ghaṭikās* on that date after mean sunrise. Consequently there were *thirty* solar days in the luni-solar month Māgha in Ś. S. 510. Thus the Gānga samvat 91 would correspond to or more properly speaking coincide with 588-89 A. D.

If then the Śaka Samvat 510 expired coincided with the 91st year of the Gānga era approximately, the year 127 would fall in Ś. S. 546 expired; and in that year as we have noticed above there was an eclipse of the moon on the fullmoon day of Mārgaśīra. The equivalent of this date in the Christian era, as has been shown above, was the 30th November 624 A. D. The equivalent of these two leading dates thus computed correctly, it becomes somewhat easy to fix the initial year of the Gānga era in Ś. S. 419 expired corresponding to 497-98 A. D. But it is now necessary to see if we can as precisely as possible determine the starting-point of the Gānga era in Ś. S. 419. We shall therefore attempt to examine this date by computing the equivalents of such eclipses and other astronomical occurrences that are mentioned in the Gānga charters that have been so far come to the notice of the epigraphist. Unfortunately for the historian these charters do not specify the months in which the eclipses recorded therein had occurred. The information that is at our disposal being therefore somewhat vague, our results have necessarily to be based upon reasonable surmises.

The earliest of such records which mentions an eclipse of the sun in an unspecified month is the Tekkali plates of Dānārjaya, son of Indravarma III, dated in the year 154 Gānga era.<sup>18</sup> Reckoning from Ś. S. 419 expired the 154th year Gānga era coincides with Ś. S. 573 corresponding to 651-52 A. D. During that year there was only a single eclipse of the sun that occurred on the newmoon day of Mārgaśīra, corresponding the 18th December, 651 A. D.

The next record in the order of time is the Santabommāli plates of Nandavarman, dated in the year 221 Gānga era. The inscription records the grant made on the occasion of the eclipse of the sun in that year; and the edict was actually engrossed on copper-plates on the 5th *tithi* (*pañcāmī*) of Āshāḍha in the year 221 Gānga era.<sup>19</sup> This eclipse of the sun in an unspecified month seems to offer the basis as well as the crucial test for determining the starting-point of the Gānga era.

18. *E. I.* Vol. XVII, p. 307 f

19. *J.A.H.R.S.* Vol. II, p. 186f

Taking S.S. 419 expired as the initial year, the Gāṅga Saṁvat 221 would fall in S.S. 640 corresponding to 718-19 A.D. But there was no eclipse of the sun during that year S.S. 640. This would mean that the Gāṅga Saṁvat and the Śaka year were not identical or exactly coeval. Then it would follow from this as a corollary that the Gāṅga Saṁvat 1 must have commenced sometime during the Śaka year 419 and ended in the following next year S.S. 420. Accordingly, if the assumption that the Gāṅga era commenced in S.S. 419 expired but not necessarily on 1st *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *amaṁśa* Chaitra is correct, then it means that the Gāṅga year began to be reckoned from some day in S.S. 419 expired, and that Gāṅga Saṁvat ended on some day which has still to be precisely determined in S.S. 420 expired. On the basis of this assumption we shall examine in order to see if there was an eclipse of the sun in the Gāṅga year 221 which commenced sometime in S.S. 640 and ended in S.S. 641, the exact limits remaining yet to be approximately to be fixed. In S.S. 641 there was an eclipse of the sun on the new-moon day of *amaṁśa* Jyēṣṭha corresponding to Tuesday, 23rd May 719 A.D. On the basis of the eclipse of the sun that occurred on the 23rd May 719 A.D. was the correct equivalent of the solar eclipse recorded in the Santrabommāli plates, it may be reasonably assumed that Gāṅga Saṁvat 1 commenced in some month that followed the month Jyēṣṭha in S.S. 419 possibly in Śrāvana or Bhādrapada and ended accordingly in Śrāvana or Bhādrapada in S.S. 420 A.D. Accordingly it would follow that the Gāṅga Saṁvat 221 fell sometime during the Śaka years 640-641 expired. The grant would therefore appear to have been made on the occasion of the eclipse of the sun on the new-moon day of Jyēṣṭha in S.S. 641 corresponding to the 23rd May 719 A.D., towards the end or in the latter part of the Gāṅga Saṁvat 221; and the edict announcing it was engraved upon copper-plates on the 5th *tithi* (day) of *Adhikā* Āṣāḍha, five days after the eclipse of the sun and the donation. This would also indicate incidentally that Āṣāḍha was not the last month of the Gāṅga Saṁvat. The equivalent of this date on which the edict was engraved, in the Christian era was the 28th May, 719 A.D.

The next record in the order of time is the Chalcasole plates of Dēvēndravarmaṇ (II) son of Anantavarmaṇ I. The record registers a grant made on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun in an unspecified month as before. The record was engraved on copper-plates *Gāṅgāya-paṁśa-pravaraddhamāna vijayarājya samvatsaram-ika-panchāśat* "in the augmenting, prosperous 51st year of the victorious Gāṅga family."<sup>20</sup> This inscription<sup>21</sup> is written in characters which are unmistakably later in form than those of the charters of Indravarmaṇ III dated in the Gāṅga Saṁvat 128,<sup>22</sup> 127<sup>23</sup> and 125,<sup>24</sup> and belong to

<sup>20</sup> J. A. Vol. xiii, p. 273 f.  
<sup>21</sup> E. I. Vol. xv, p. 322 f.

<sup>22</sup> E. I. Vol. xiii, p. 123 f.  
<sup>23</sup> E. I. Vol. xviii, p. 307.

the same type as those of another Chicacole grant of Dēvāndravarman son of Anantavarman (1) dated in the Gāṅga Saṁvat 254.<sup>24</sup> For this reason I am inclined to construe the date of the charter under review as Gāṅga Saṁvat 251 instead of mere 51 as recorded in the grant. Moreover, not only palaeography but also the formal preamble of the record supplies internal evidence in support of the date, 251 G. E. Place forbids any elaborate discussion of this topic here. But suffice it to say now that the donor of this grant was Dēvāndravarman, son of Anantavarman, like the donor of the grant of the Gāṅga Saṁvat 254. Dr. Fleet, unable however, to explain this discrepancy, regarded year 51 of the present grant and similarly the doubtful 31st year of the Chicacole grant of Satyavarman son of Dēvāndravarman<sup>25</sup> as some conventional expression of the date which could not be properly interpreted. But there does not seem to be any such conventionality about the expression of the date. It is, therefore, likely on the contrary that the scribe who engrossed the edict on the copper-plates committed a palpable mistake by omitting the words like *Sata-dasya*, "two hundred" before the expression *eka-paṭchāṣaṭ*, for the numerical figures that usually follow the passage containing the date are not found in the present grant. And in a similar manner the writer of the Gāṅga grant of the time of Satyavarman son of Anantavarman of the doubtful year 51 G. E. would seem to have committed an obvious mistake by leaving out the term *tri* meaning three 'hundreds' before the word *śatānāṃ* in the passage containing the charter. In my opinion the passage has to be read as *Gāṅgayavāṇśa-saṁvatsara(ṭi)śatānāṃ-eka-paṭchāṣaṭ*, "in the 351 year of the victorious era of the Gāṅga family". It is obvious that there could not be two records dated in the same year issued by two different sovereigns who were sons of different fathers and ruling over the same identical country and from the same capital Kalingansgara. And it is equally plain that the characters of the Chicacole grant of Dēvāndravarman are undoubtedly of an earlier type than those of the grants of Satyavarman: thus, the two characters could not have been issued in one and the same year 51 of the Gāṅga era.

Moreover the year 51 in the record of Dēvāndravarman cannot be construed as a mistake for the year 251 of the Gāṅga era for the reason that there is the Gāṅga grant of Indravarman III son of Dānārṇava, dated in the Gāṅga Saṁvat 254 already referred to. Nor can this year 51 be looked upon as a mistake for the year 251 for another reason as it would then be extremely difficult to find a proper equivalent for the year 51 of the grant of Satyavarman son of Dēvāndravarman referred to above. In the scheme of the Gāṅga chronology adopted by me from a study of the Gāṅga characters there cannot be a place for a Dēvāndravarman son of Anantavarman between Rājāndravarman son of Ananta-

24 J. A. Vol. xviii, p. 311.

25 J. A. Vol. xiv, pp. 10-12.



varman of the Gāṅga Saṁvat 342<sup>26</sup> and Dēvēndravarmān (IV) son of Rājēndravarmān (II), the donor of the Chīḍavalasa grant of the Gāṅga Saṁvat 397.<sup>27</sup> In the same manner it is difficult to find a place for Satyavarmān son of Dēvēndravarmān (III) by assuming the year 31 of his record to be either 351 or 353 Gāṅga era between Indravarmān III of the Gāṅga year and Dēvēndravarmān (II) of the Gāṅga Saṁvat 154. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the Chicacole plates of Dēvēndravarmān (II) son of Anantavarmān (I) actually belong to the Gāṅga Saṁvat 351 corresponding to the Śaka Saṁvat 670-671 expired and not the year 31 which the inscription apparently mentions. Accordingly in Ś. S. 671 there was an eclipse of the sun on the newmoon day of amānta Chaitra corresponding to Sunday 15th March 749 A. D. And this would seem to be the proper date on which Dēvēndravarmān II son of Anantavarmān I made the charity recorded on the Chicacole plates.

The next record in point of chronological order is the Alamanda plates of Anantavarmān II son of Rājēndravarmān I dated in the Gāṅga Saṁvat 304<sup>28</sup> which mentions the grant of an *agrahāra* on the occasion of a solar eclipse in an unspecified month. The Gāṅga year 304 according to the hypothesis we have formulated above coincided with the Śaka years 723-724. There was an eclipse of the sun on the newmoon day of amānta Jyēṣṭha in Ś.S. 723, corresponding to Tuesday, 15th June 801 A.D. But as has been pointed out above the eclipse cannot be accepted as the proper equivalent of the date of the edict as it apparently occurred in the preceding Gāṅga year 303 according to the assumption that the Gāṅga Saṁvat ended in some month that came after Jyēṣṭha in Ś.S. 420. There was also another eclipse of the sun on the newmoon *līlā* of the amānta Jyēṣṭha in S.S. 724, the corresponding date in the Christian era being Saturday, 4th June 802 A.D. And accordingly this would seem to be the proper equivalent of the date on which the charity mentioned in the inscription was made.

The next record is the grant of Satyavarmān son of Dēvēndravarmān (III) dated in the Gāṅga Saṁvat 31 which refers to a solar eclipse in an unspecified month.<sup>29</sup> As the characters of this record closely resemble those of the charter of the Gāṅga Saṁvat 304, the Tekkali plates of Dēvēndravarmān (III) of the year 310<sup>30</sup> G.E. and the Mandasa plates of Anantavarmān (II) son of Rājēndravarmān (I) dated in the 342 Gāṅga era<sup>31</sup> it may be assumed that the year 31 G.E. of the record of Satyavarmān might possibly be a mistake for the year 351 G.E. If this assumption is correct then it would follow that Satyavarmān would seem

26. JBORS Vol. XII, p. 161 f. Same as G. P. No. 13 of 1917-18.

27. JAHRS Vol. II, pp. 144-64 with plate.

28. E.I. Vol. III p. 175.

29. I.A. Vol. xiv pp. 106.

30. E.I. Vol. XVIII p. 311.

31. JBORS. Vol. xii p. 101 f.



to be the successor of his paternal uncle Rāṣṇadravarman (II) the donor of the grant dated in the Gāṅga Saṁvat 312. The Gāṅga year 351 fell in the Śaka years 770—771 expired, and within the limits we have tentatively set before ourselves, namely, Śrāvana S.S. 770 and S'rāvana S.S. 771 there was no solar eclipse which could properly be the equivalent of the one recorded in the inscription. But there was an eclipse of the sun of the newmoon *tithi* of *amavāsa* Jyēṣṭha in Ś.S. 770 corresponding to Tuesday, 5th June 828 A.D. which would fall in the Gāṅga Saṁvat 350. If this eclipse was the probable equivalent of the date of the donation then it would appear that the grant was made in the preceding year and the edict announcing it was registered on copper-plates in the next following Gāṅga Saṁvat 351.

The next record for our consideration is the Chīḍavalasa copper-plate grant of Dēvāṇḍravarmaṇ (IV) son of Rāṣṇadravarman (II) dated in the Gāṅga Saṁvat 397 which refers to a solar eclipse in an unspecified month. The Gāṅga year 397 fell some time in the Śaka years 816—817; between the month Śrāvana, Ś. S. 816 and Śrāvana Ś. S. 817. During this period there was a solar eclipse on the newmoon day of Mārgaśīra S.S. 816, the corresponding date in the Christian era being Sunday, the 1st December 894 A. D. It is quite probable that this date was the proper equivalent of the eclipse mentioned in the Chīḍavalasa plates.

The assumption that the Gāṅga era was probably reckoned from an unknown *tithi* in the month that came after S'rāvana, which still remains to be ascertained, in the Ś.S. 419, and that the Gāṅga Saṁvat 1 coded in some month in Ś.S. 420, seems to find sound support in the Santabommāli copper-plate grant of Indravarmaṇ II surnamed Banabhaṭṭa and Rajasimha.<sup>32</sup> The record is dated on the 20th *tithi* of Jyēṣṭha in the victorious Gāṅga Saṁvat 87. The inscription records the grant of two *hala*s of land in the village of Haribhaṭṭa in the Krōṣṭukavartanivāhaya and another *hala* of land that was separated from the village of Dantayavāgu, to the God Śiva called Ramāśvara-bhaṭṭāraka, for the purpose of offering *dhāṇi* and *chlara*, running a *śatra* and for the repairs of the shrine, as a *dāṇyagrahara* and with the exemption from all burdens of taxation, for the increase of the religious merit of himself and of his parents. The charity was made on the request of the *dhājaka* Talavaradēva. The occasion on which the grant was made is not specified in the inscription, but it is probable that it was made on the same day on which the edict was engraved on the copper-plates. The 20th *tithi* of Jyēṣṭha which is presumably the 20th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Jyēṣṭha is an important occasion for making pious donations for the increase of one's own religious merit. The importance of the *tithi* becomes therefore considerably enhanced if it occurs also in conjunction with

other astronomical details. It is the day of *Dafahara* 'the day of expiation of ten sins'. The *Jyēshtha sukla 10* falling a Wednesday or even Tuesday coupled with the *nakṣatra* *Hasta* and *yoga* *Vyatiṇṇā* is called *Dafahara*. Accordingly if the *Jyēshtha sukla 10* mentioned in the Santa-bommali plates was also the day of *Dafahara*, as presumably it appears to be, then it was undoubtedly the proper occasion for making the pious donation recorded in the inscription. Incidentally the date becomes important, for it may possibly yield its proper equivalent in Christian era as in the case of the date of *Parikṣmedī* plates of the self-same monarch dated on the 30th day of *Māgha* in the year 91 of the *Gāṅga* era. The *Gāṅga* *Saṁvat* 87 would fall in the *Śaka* *Saṁvat* 506-507 expired; and the details of the date as the day of *Dafahara* yield their equivalent in the Christian era as Wednesday, the 24th May 584 A. D. On that date there was the *nakṣatra* *Hasta* current in the morning till 6 *ghaṭikas* after sunrise. The *tithi* was *Jyēshtha sukla 10* and the *yoga* was *Vyatiṇṇā* and the week-day was Wednesday as required to be the auspicious occasion for the *Dafahara*.

Thus from the foregoing discussion and examination of the astronomical details it may be reasonably assumed that the victorious *Gāṅga* era commenced in some month after *Ashāḍha*, roughly either about *Śrāvaṇa* or *Bhādrapada* in A. S. 419 and the year 1 of the Victorious *Gāṅga* Era ended about *Śrāvaṇa* or *Bhādrapada* in A.S. 420. It is impossible in the present state of our knowledge to fix the starting-point of the *Gāṅga* era more precisely than this. But tentatively we shall assume for two reasons that the starting point of the *Gāṅga* era was *Bhādrapada bahula trayodśī*, the thirteenth day of the dark fortnight of *Bhādrapada*, firstly that was the *yugādī* or the commencement of the *Kali Yuga*. The *Gāṅga* dynasty may possibly have chosen this date as the beginning of their victorious era synchronising the establishment of their sovereignty to *Tri-Kaṇṇa* or *Kaṇṇa*. The *yugādī* is preceded by the *Bhādrapada sukla 12*, celebrated as *Vāmana Jayantī*. It was thus the most important day for Orissa and ancient *Kaṇṇa*. *Vāmana Jayantī* or the incarnation of *Viṣṇu* as *Vāmana* or dwarf is enshrined in the celebrated temple of *Jagannath* (Lord of the Universe) at *Puri* on the sea in Orissa. Accordingly if this supposition is accepted as probable the initial point of the *Gāṅga* era would be *Bhādrapada bahula 13*, S.S. 419 expired, corresponding to Monday 11th August 497 A.D., and thus the first year of the *Gāṅga* era would end in 498 A.D.

## GENEALOGY OF THE EASTERN GANGAS OF KALINGA.

## First Dynasty.\*

1. Unknown founder Mitavarman, an inhabitant of Manalkudi; mentioned in the *Gedāvari grant of Pṛthuvīla*.<sup>1</sup>  
A.D. 497—510.
2. Adhirāja-Indra or Mahārāja Indravarman I, lord of Dantapura; *Trikalingādhipati*; *Sirjīngi plates*<sup>2</sup> of the 39th year G.E. c 520-538 A.D.

3. Hastivarman surnamed *Rājasiṃha* and *Rajabhatta*; *Sakala-Kalingādhirāja*; lord of Kalinga-nagara; 79th and 80th years G.E.<sup>3</sup> c 570—580. A.D.
4. Indravarman surnamed *Rājasiṃha* and *Sakala-Kalingādhirāja*; "overlord of the Entire Kalinga"; lord of Kalinga-nagara; 87th and 91st years G.E.<sup>4</sup> c 580-590. A.D.

Dānārgava<sup>5</sup>Gudārgava<sup>6</sup>

5. Indravarman III. 128th, 127th, 128th and 129th years G.E.<sup>7</sup> c A.D. 620-635.
6. Dēvēndravarman I. *Mahārājādhirāja*; 183rd, 184th and 185rd years G.E.<sup>8</sup> c A.D. 675-695.

- 6a. Sāmāntavarman I. *Usurper (?)* 85th year.<sup>9</sup> c. 680-685 A.D.
7. Anantavarmanadōva I. 804th year G.E.<sup>10</sup> c 700-715.

8. Nandavarman. 201st year G.E.<sup>11</sup> c 715-720.
9. Dēvēndravarman II. 851st and 852th years of the G.E.<sup>12</sup> c A.D. 720-25.
10. Rājēndravarman I. c 750-760 A.D.

11. Anantavarmanadōva II. 804th year<sup>13</sup> c A.D. 705-805.
12. Dēvēndravarman III. 810th year<sup>14</sup> c A.D. 805-815.

13. Rājēndravarman II. 842nd year<sup>15</sup> c A.D. 835-840.
14. Satyavarmanadōva. 851st year<sup>16</sup> c 845-850.

16. Dēvēndravarman IV. *Mahārājādhirāja*; 897th year G.E.<sup>17</sup> c A.D. 885-895.
15. Indravarmanadōva; *Usurper (?)* *Donor of the Vīṣṇuagiri plates (?)*<sup>18</sup> c 850-870 A.D.

\* The reigns and succession of these kings are tentatively fixed.

1 J. Soc. Br. E.A.S., Vol. xvi, p. 114f. 2 JAHRS Vol. iii, p. 46f.

3 E. I. Vol. xvii, p. 52f; E. I. Vol. xviii, p. 210f with plate.

4 E. I. Vol. iii, p. 127f; J.A.H.R.S. Vol. iv, pp. 31-32; I.A. Vol. i, p. 181f.

5 The relationship between Dānārgava and Gudārgava on the one hand and their relationship to Indravarman II on the other hand is not specified in any record.

6 I.A. Vol. xiii, p. 126f; E. I. Vol. xiv, p. 365f; I.A. Vol. xiii, p. 126f; E. I. Vol. xviii, p. 307f.

7 Sharot, Feb. 1937, Vol. xiv, Part I, No. 1, pp. 123f with plate.

8 E. I. Vol. iii, p. 130f; JAHRS Vol. ii, p. 275f; E. I. Vol. xiii, p. 212f.

9 JAHRS Vol. ii, p. 275f; C.P. No. 8 of 1918-1919. (Undated)

10 JAHRS Vol. ii, p. 185f.

11 J.A. Vol. xiii, p. 373.

12 E. I. Vol. iii, p. 37f.

13 E. I. Vol. xviii, p. 311f; E. O. Vol. ix, p. 140f.

14 C.P. No. 18 of 1917-18; J.B.O.R.E. Vol. xii, p. 101f.

15 I.A. Vol. xiv, p. 10-12.

16 JAHRS Vol. ii, p. 126f.

17 JAHRS Vol. iii, p. 182f with plate and E. I. Vol. xiv, p. 194f with plate.

## Second Dynasty (\*)

Ātrīya-Gōtra

Gupamahārpa

17. Vajrahaṣṭa I. 44 years c. A.D. 895-939.

18. Guṇḍama I.  
(1 year)  
c. A.D. 939-940.19. Kāmārṇava I.  
(15 years)  
c. A.D. 940-955.20. Vinayāditya.  
(3 years)  
c. A.D. 955-958.

21. Anantavarmadēva III, alias Vajrahaṣṭa II.  
surnamed *Asigraśakāśma* (the donor of the grant  
dated in Gāṅga saṁ 500.<sup>1</sup> (15 years) c. A.D. 958-1014.  
By first wife By second wife

22. Kāmārṇava II.  
(14 years)  
c. A.D. 1014-15.  
alias Vinayamahā-  
dēvi of the  
Vaidumbha family.

23. Guṇḍama II.  
alias Dēvendra-  
varman V. (13 years)  
Donor of the  
Simhapura grant of the  
year 500, G.K. Era.<sup>2</sup>

Trilōka-  
sundari of  
Vijayabāhu<sup>3</sup>  
c. A.D. 1015-1016-19.

24. Madhu-Kāmārṇava.  
(19 years) Donor of  
the grant of the  
566th year of the  
Gāṅga era.<sup>4</sup>  
c. A.D. 1019-1038.

25. Anantavarmadēva IV.  
alias Vajrahaṣṭa III. Q. Anāṅgadēvi.  
(Crowned on 9th April, A.D. 1038.)  
c. A.D. 1038-1069.<sup>5</sup>

26. Dēvendravarman VI.  
alias Kājarāja I. Q. Rājāsundari, d.  
of Vira Rājendra. Donor of the  
grant dated in S. S. 998.<sup>6</sup>  
(Crowned on May 20, A.D. 1077.)

27. Anantavarmadēva V. alias Chōḍaganga.  
A.D. 1078-1141, or 1148 (?)  
(Crowned on 17th February, A.D. 1078.<sup>7</sup>)

## Of a Collateral Branch

28. Dēvendravarman VII.  
(Donor of the Kambhāya  
grant dated in S.S. 1003.<sup>8</sup>  
Usurper: circa A.D.  
1077-1095.

Sāmantavarman II.<sup>9</sup>  
Date unknown.

\* The above pedigree and chronological order are taken from the charters of Vajrahaṣṭa II (*E. I.* IV, 188; *S. I.* IX, p 305; *Śharatī* III; Pt 5, p 88f.) Dēvendravarman VI alias Kājarāja I (*C.P.* No. 2 of 1918-19) and Anantavarmadēva (No 3 of 1918-19 *JAHNS*, I p 40f) among others.

1 *JAHNS* IX, Pt 5, pp 3382 *Ibid* III, p 171f3 *S. I.* XII, p 1 (Kājarājāsundari the grant of Umavarman)4 *C. P.* No 5 of 1918-19; *J.S.* XVIII, p 179f.5 *C. P.* No. 3 of 1918-19. The computation of the date of coronation of this king made by the Editor of the Nadagam plates (*E. I.* IV, p 188f) has been corrected from 2nd May, to 9th April 1038 A.D.) See *A.R.E.* 1918 p 81f.6 *C.P.* No. 4 of 1918-19.7 *I. A.* XVIII, p 136f.8 *C. P.* No. 9 of 1925-26; see also *Śharatī*, IV, Pt 2 p 118f; see also *S.I.I.* IV, No. 1339 text line 10.9 *S. I.* XV, p 277f.

## AUTHORSHIP AND DATE OF THE *MṛCCHAKATIKĀ*

A. D. PURAIYER, M.A., LL.B.

From the prologue to the *Mṛcchakatikā* we learn that the play is attributed to a royal author, a thing which is not of uncommon occurrence in Sanskrit literature. The *Ratnāvalī* and *Pṛyadarśikā* are similarly attributed to Śrīharsa, and king Kuṣāṅkara also is a well known dramatist. The point whether Śūdraka the king was the patron or the poet is immaterial to the chronology of the play. The prelude to the play refers to Śūdraka in terms of the remote past tense and describes him as well versed in the Vedic lore, mathematics, fine arts, *haṁsīkīṭhā* etc. His sight was restored through the favour of Ś'iva. He has performed an Aśvamedha sacrifice, installed his son on the throne and finally consigned himself to fire after enjoying the full lease of a hundred years and ten days.

द्विरेन्द्रगति क्षकोरनेत्रः परिपूर्णन्दुमुखः सुविग्रहः ॥  
 द्विजमुख्यतमः कविर्बभूव प्रथितः शुद्रक इत्युपसत्त्वः ॥ ३॥  
 ऋग्वेदं सामवेदं गणितमथ कलां वैशिकीं हस्तिविज्ञां  
 ज्ञात्वा सर्वपसादाद् व्यपगततिमिरे चक्षुषी चोपलभ्य ।  
 राजानं वीक्ष्य पुत्रं परमसमुद्भवेनाम्नेनेन बोद्ध्वा  
 लब्ध्वा चायुः शताब्दं दशदिनसाहसं शुद्रकोऽपि भविष्टः ॥ ४॥  
 समरव्यसनी प्रमादशून्यः ककुदो वेदविदां सपोषनश्च ।  
 परवारणं वाहुयुद्धशुध्यः क्षितिपालः क्लृप्तः शुद्रको बभूव ॥ ५॥

No country or dynasty of the author is mentioned. The prologue no doubt is a later edition, but it cannot be dismissed as unreliable on that score alone, as the writer might have based his statements on certain traditions current at his time. Vāmana (5th century) in his *Kavyālaṅkāraśāstravṛtti* mentions Śūdraka and cites *yāśaḥ ballā* etc., (I. 9) and *dyastavaśi nāma puruṣaśaya* etc., from the *Mṛcch*.<sup>1</sup> So the prologue may be trusted as to the authorship of the play. Further reason for associating Śūdraka with the *Mṛcch* is the consistency with which all Manuscripts unanimously ascribe the work to Ś'ūdraka. Traditions about the authorship of a work are generally reliable. Thus the testimony of the prologue may be taken without challenge with regard to two statements, viz., that Ś'ūdraka or some one on his behalf

<sup>1</sup> *Kavyālaṅkāraśāstravṛtti*, pp 33, 40, 55. Nirṇayamagara Edn.

was the author, that the work was the product of Śūdraka's reign; and that Śūdraka was a king.<sup>2</sup>

In order to ascertain the identity of Śūdraka, we must look for all the available references to a king Śūdraka in old Sanskrit works. There are to be found about two dozen king Śūdrakas in mythology, literature and history, and some Oriental Scholars identify Śūdraka with kings of different names. I have added some comments after referring to the original works.

Dr. Sylvain Lévi in his "Le Theatre Indien" refers to the the following works mentioning king Śūdraka:<sup>3</sup>

1. In the *Kādambarī* he is said to have ruled over Vidishā.

The *Kathā Saritsāgara* makes him rule over Śobhāvati i. e., the Karpātāk or Kallaga. This mentions Dināra, and hence this Śūdraka is later than first-second century A.D.

2. According to the fourth Vetāla Kathā as given in the *Bṛhalkathā-Maājari*, Śūdraka is stated to be the king of Vardhamāna.

3. A legend which is found in several places (Kathā S.S. 78. Vetāla, 4. and Hitopadēśa, 3) represents him as saved from an imminent death by a Brahmin who gave his own life in order to assure to the king a life of hundred years.

4. *Harja Carita* briefly recalls the dexterous means which he made use of in order to get rid of his enemy Candraśētu, the prince of Cakōra.<sup>4</sup>

5. The *Dafakumāra Carita* allude to the adventures of Śūdraka in successive existences.

6. *Rāja-Tarāṅginī* (III. 141) of Kalhaṇa mentions him as a type of firmness, a figure to be set beside Vikramāditya:

सन्त्यज्य विक्रमादित्रां सत्त्वोद्विक्तं च शुद्धं ।

त्वां च भूपाल पर्याप्तं वैषम्यन्वजं दुर्लभम् ॥

He is mentioned in connection with Pravarasena of Kashmir. Mr. Mehendale places this Śūdraka in about 550—600 A.D. and provisionally assigns Śūdraka, the author of the *Mroch* to the middle of the sixth century.<sup>5</sup> He does not specifically ascribe the authorship of the *Mroch* to this Śūdraka.<sup>6</sup>

2 cf. Paranjape's Introduction to *Mṛcchakatika*, Bombay 1929, p. 2. According to Dr. Charpentier, this statement of the prologue about the authorship of the *Mroch* "ought certainly not to be disregarded without very weighty reasons." *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1929, p. 530f.

3 Vol. 1, pp 196—206ff.

4 p 270: Bombay Sanskrit Series Ed.

5 Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, p 374f.

6 op. cit., pp 367-74. Contra. *Mṛcchakatika*, Bom. 1912, Nerurkar's Intz. p 14.



8. The Purāṇas also know his name. A passage from the *Kumārikā Khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purāṇa* makes a great king Śūdraka reign before Nandas in the year of Kali 3090 (189 A.D.), 710 years before Vikramāditya.<sup>7</sup> The name of the first Āndhra king is variously given as Sindhuka (Vāyu), Śisuka (Matsya), Sīpraka (Viśva), and Śūdra or Vṛṣala (*Bhāgavata*).<sup>8</sup> So possibly the exact form of the name was not settled, the inscriptions knowing him as Sīmuka; but the name seems to have taken its origin from Śūdraka, the great Śūdra king. But the date of the *Skanda Purāṇa* (189 A.D.) does not agree with that assigned to the Āndhras by history, viz. 3rd century B.C.<sup>9</sup> The discrepancy however can be explained on the ground that the compilers of the Purāṇas which date from 4th century A.D., were giving only traditional dates and accounts from memory.

9. Mr. C. V. Vaidya however on the same calculation as contained in the *Skanda Purāṇa* gives the date as 326 B.C.<sup>10</sup> This Śūdraka, according to Mr. Vaidya, "may still be the author of the *Mṛcch* which lays its plot at a time when Buddhist nuns were still unpopular, say a hundred years after Buddha". As nothing is known about this Śūdraka, we cannot say whether he is the same as the founder of the Āndhras. "None of the Purāṇas", as observed by Mr. Vaidya "mention Śūdraka among Kali Kings ruling Magadha before Nanda".<sup>11</sup>

10. A king Śūdraka is mentioned in Rājasekhara's verse:

ती शूद्रक कथाकारी रम्पो रामिलसीमिछी ।

काव्ये यथोद्गोरासीदर्पतारी नरोपमम् ॥

From this it appears that Rāmila and Sīmila were his contemporaries and that they had jointly composed a legend of Śūdraka. Thus from this period, according to Dr. Lévi, the personage of Śūdraka had no reality, and belonged entirely to the fable. It is possible that this Sūmīla is the Somilaka mentioned by Kālidāsa in the prologue of his *Malavikāgnimitra*.

Further references to Śūdraka as gives by Mr. Mehendale in the *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume* (pp. 367—374) are:

11. Kṣīrasvāmi in *Amara Kośa* 7146 (II. 8. 2) while enumerating the sovereigns mentions Śūdraka along with Vikramāditya:

..... विक्रमादित्य साहसिकः शकन्वकः ।

शूद्रकस्तपस्त्रिभिषो वा शतः स्वाच्छास्त्रिवाहनः ॥

<sup>7</sup> Paranjape, *Mṛcch*, introduction, pp 2—4.

<sup>8</sup> Fargitser, *Dynasty of the Kali Age*, pp 38, 71ff.

<sup>9</sup> Rapson, *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p 333 also p 1, 598, 898; Vincent Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th Edition, p 218. Contra, Bhandarkar, *Early Hist.*, Dehkan, Bombay 1884, pp 25—27 (B.C. 72).

<sup>10</sup> Proc. and Trans. of the Seventh All-India Oriental Conference, Baroda, pp 575—582ff.

<sup>11</sup> *op. cit.*, p 581.

<sup>12</sup> *op. cit.*, p 583.

12. In a commentary on Bhaṭṭarhari's *Vākyapadīya* occurs the following:

श्लोकेऽपि राजपुरुष इत्युक्ते कस्य राज्ञः शुद्धकस्योति पञ्चोत्तरयो राजपदार्थप्रविभग...etc.

13. In a commentary on Daṇḍī's *Kāvyaḍḍarśa* (l. 15) named *Hydayaṅgama*, a Śūdraka is spoken of as *Sādāśrayam-Harṣa Śūdrakā-dāśkanādi satpuruṣa samāśrayam*.

14. Abul Fazal in his *Ain-e-Akbari* mentions a Bengali Khatri king named Sadhrak who reigned for 93 years. But this statement has been rejected by Mr. Mehendale as 'unhistorical'.<sup>13</sup>

15. Vāmana in his *Kāvyaśālikārasatrayitti* while dealing with Śīṣālaṅkāra says: *Śūdrakāli raciteṣu prabandheteṣu bhāṣyān prapañcā dīyate* and further Vāmana quotes two passages from *Myroch* one of which agrees more with the *Cārudatta*. No information is given about Śūdraka.

The other references given in various works are:

16. Kulaśekhara in the prologue to his *Tapottasāmarasāṅga* refers respectfully to Śūdraka as an ancient dramatist—*Śūdraka-Kāśī-dāsa-Harṣa-Daṇḍī-prabandam* possibly hinting thereby that Śūdraka was prior in date to Kālidāsa.

17. In the *Avantī Sundarī Kathā* and the *Avantī Sundarī Kathāsāra* of Daṇḍī edited from Madras by Mr. Kavi, there occurs the name of Śūdraka in the introductory stanzas in glorification of poets. The mention of poets according to the editor, appears to follow some strict chronological order. Subandhu comes first, next Guṇādhyā and Mūlādhyā, and then Śūdraka. The editor takes Śūdraka to be the king of Ujjain and a great poet. *Avantī Sundarī Kathā* gives some information about him:

शुद्धकेना सकृजित्वा खच्छन्वा खड्गधारया ।

जगद्भूयोऽभ्यवदृश्य वाचा स्वचरितार्थया ॥

It is stated that Śūdraka was a Brahmin born in the Āśmaka country. The *Myroch* is taken to be an auto-biographical work (*vācā-svacharitarthayā*) and a revised version of the *Cārudatta* by the same author. Thus, according to the editor it contains some incidents from the life of Śūdraka; viz., Āryaka is the name of the poet himself and Cārudatta refers to his friend Bandhudatta who helped him in his difficulties. Svāti whom Śūdraka is said to have defeated has been identified from amongst a number of Āndhrabāhiya kings holding the suffix, with a king who ruled about 36 B. C.<sup>14</sup> Mr. Sarasvatī guesses Vasantasānā to be

13 Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, p 274f.

14 Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, p 2.

15 Dakṣiṇa Bhāratī Series, No. 2, pp 6-35; also Sarasvatī, in Quart. Journ. Myth. Soc., 13, p 277f.

Malayavati mentioned in Vātsyāyana's *Kāma Sūtra* and takes Kuntala Śātakarṇi Śātavāhana to be the original of Śākāra.<sup>16</sup>

18. In the *Caturbhāṣā* published from Patna, there appears a *Bhāṣa* by Śūdraka which is named *Padmaprabhīṭaka*. Messrs. Kavi and Śāstri in their introduction to that book (pp. i-iii) state the writer to be identical with the author of the *Mṛca* and ascribe the *Bālaacarita*, *Avimāra* and *Vatsarājacarita* to him. The editors further take Śūdraka to be Vikramāditya, the originator of the Vikrama era, and on the strength of the *Aśvamedhārthakathā* and the *Aśvamedhāsundarikathāsāra* draw the conclusions stated above.

19. Dr. Keith mentions a very late tradition in the *Vīra Carita* and the younger *Rājasekhara*, which brings Śūdraka into connection with Śātavāhana or Śālivāhana, whose minister he was and from whom he obtained half his kingdom including Pratiṣṭhāna.<sup>17</sup> Prof. Dhruva seems to identify the author of the *Mṛca* with this Śūdraka.<sup>18</sup>

20. Fischer drew attention to Vāmana's *Kavyaśaikhārasūtra-vṛtti* where Śūdraka is called Rājā Komati.<sup>19</sup> Dr. Hiranand Sasiri mentions a South Indian tradition taking Śūdraka to be a Rājā Komati, but it does not appear to him very trustworthy.<sup>20</sup> Dr. Charpentier refers to the tradition according to which 101 heads of families belonging to this caste sacrificed themselves in fire owing to their struggle with one Viṣṇuvardhana, whom Dr. Charpentier takes to be an Eastern Chālukya king.<sup>21</sup> Nothing however is known about this Śūdraka.

21. Mr. Sankar takes Śūdraka to be Bhāsa and ascribes to him the authorship of the *Svapnasaṁvāda*, *Pratiṣṭhā*, *Abhīṣeka*, *Prācarāṭra*, *Datavakya*, *Bālaacarita*, *Avimāra*, *Padmaprabhīṭaka* and *Mṛccakatikā*.<sup>22</sup> If Bhāsa be the author of all these works, it is not clear why only the *Mṛca* and *Padmaprabhīṭaka* should be assigned to Śūdraka and the other works should remain anonymous. And again in some works Bhāsa and Śūdraka are distinctly mentioned side by side, thereby excluding the probability of their identity.<sup>23</sup> Further, in the view of the Bhāsa problem that we take, we assign the *Cāradatta* to Bhāsa.

16 Quart. Journ. Myth. Soc., 12, pp 274-755—Bhāsa is taken to be the Court-poet of King Śūdraka-Vikramāditya.

17 Sanskrit Drama, p 129.

18 *Svapnāṇḍarī*, Ahmedabad, 1913, p 22 n 38.

19 cf. *JRAS*, 1913, p 597.

20 Mem. Arch. Survey of India, No. 24, p 33, n 1.

21 *JRAS*, 1913, pp 397-398.

22 Ananta's Memorial Volume, Patna, Part II, pp 54-54.

23 cf. *Nāṭyadarpana*, Gankwad's Or. Series, No. 46, pp 46, 53, 84; Dakshina Bhāratī Series, No. 3, intro, pp 7, 9 (where verses relating to Śūdraka and Bhāsa are considered).

and on account of the essential difference between the *Cārudatta* and the *Mṛcch*, both cannot belong to the same period<sup>24</sup>.

22. Dr. Sten Konow identifies Śūdraka with an Ābhira king Śivadatta who was possibly connected with the downfall of the Āndhras and the inauguration of the Cēdi era,<sup>25</sup> but that does not appear to be sound. Dr. Konow's theory is based on that fact that Āryaka, the son of Gopāl, in whose favour Pālaka is said to have abdicated in the *Brhatkathā* is described in the *Mṛcch* as a herdsman (Gopālādāraka, son of a cowherd; *gṛ-pālā* from Gopāla); and Ābhira also means a herdsman. The parallel traits are not very striking and the arguments are of a very unsubstantial character<sup>26</sup>.

23. Similarly some critics without identifying Śūdraka, place him in the second century A.D. on the ground that the expression *Ruarṇ rājā* in the *Mṛcch*, VIII. 34 refers to king Rudradāman of the Ksatrapa dynasty who flourished in 150 A.D., and Śūdraka must have come after him. But the identification rests on a flimsy ground and is unreliable.

24. Pischel first ascribed the play to Bhāsa and later fathered it to Dandin on the authority of Rājasekhara *Traya-Dandi-prabandhaśca tripu-lāṅga viśrutāḥ* since only two works of Dandin were known; and (i) one stanza viz. *limpatīṣa* etc. was common to the *Kūyādarī* (II. 226) and the *Mṛcch* (I. 34) and (ii) there were close resemblances between the society as depicted in the *Dakṣaśatrujah* and the *Mṛcch*.<sup>27</sup> But the verse *limpatīṣa* etc. originally belongs to Bhāsa and the similar state of society is not a definite criterion of common authorship. No one now seriously considers this theory and Dr. Peterson has ably controverted it.<sup>28</sup>

25. Dr. Keith rejects as 'far-fetched' Lévi's suggestion that the real author passed off the work to Śūdraka to give it a look of antiquity. But his reasons for calling Śūdraka 'Mythical' are not convincing.<sup>29</sup> Some of the statements in the prologue to which the learned Doctor takes objection, are clearly exaggerations and interpolations. But all the same the authorship of Śūdraka stands established.

26. Mr. Soman in his learned introduction to the Marāṭhi translation of Bhāsa's plays has taken great pains to show that Śūdraka, the author of the *Mṛcch*, was Kṣudraka, the son of Prasennajit of Kosala (5th Century B. C.);<sup>30</sup> but such an antiquity for the play is highly

24 The problem has been dealt with at some length in my forthcoming book—'Bhāsa—A Study.'

25 Das *Indische Drama*, p. 87.

26 Keith *Sanskrit Drama*, pp 129-130; Charpentier. *JRAS*, 1922, pp 606, 396.

27 *Eudoto*, pp 141.

28 *Dashakumarcakṛtā*, Part III, Preface, p 7, Bombay Sanskrit Series.

29 *Sanskrit Drama*, p 190f.

30 Poona, 1931. pp 93-154.

improbable, as in that case a very small margin remains between the *Cārudatta* and the *Mrcch*, and as we have elsewhere shown at some length the essential differences in the two plays speak of a period of at least two centuries between them.<sup>31</sup>

27. Dr. V. G. Paranjape after a detailed consideration of the available data has come to the conclusion that Simuka or Śūdraka who was the founder of the Āndhrabhṛtya dynasty is the author of the *Mrcch* and he places him in 73 B. C.<sup>32</sup> Following other scholars we prefer to place Śūdraka Āndhrabhṛtya in the third century B. C. That he was a southerner entitles him the more to be the author of a drama which seems to have come from the South as the different Prakrits and other references would show<sup>33</sup>.

Turning to the description of the author in the prologue once more, we find that Śūdraka the author of the *Mrcch* was: *dvijamukhyatama* "best amongst the twice born". The commentators take this to mean *kahatripottama*. But it means 'best among the Brāhmanas, the caste par excellence,' especially as he is further described to be well versed in the four Vedas and at the head of the knowers of the Vedas. Dr. Charpentier infers from this that Śūdraka may have been a Peśva to some king before becoming a ruler himself<sup>34</sup>. He lived long—10 days over 100 years, and entered fire after this. He enthroned his son before his death. He had performed an *Āśvamedha*. He was a great poet. He recovered his eye-sight through the favour of S'iva, i.e. he was a S'avite. He knew all the Vedas, mathematics, astrology, fine arts, *harṣi śikṣā* etc., He was rich in penances, well versed in warfare, etc.

Now applying these tests to the 27 Śūdrakas enumerated above, we find that about most of these persons we know practically nothing more than their names. Śūdraka Vikramāditya mentioned by Mr. Kavi and others. Kaudraka mentioned by Soman, and Simuka mentioned by Paranjape and others seem to be historical persons. As regards the first, in none of the legends of Vikramāditya is he credited with the authorship of the *Mrcch*; with regard to Kaudraka we have already indicated that internal evidence is against so early a date for the *Mrcch*. So there remains only one claimant for the authorship of the *Mrcch*, and we shall see whether the description in the prologue applies to this king.

There is a difference of opinion as to the caste of the Āndhras or Sātavāhanas, some scholars calling them Śūdras and others as

31 In my forth-coming work—"Bhāsa—A Study".

32 *Mricchakatika*, Bom. 1909. Introduction pp 1-2.

33 cf. *Varandasilahika* (p 14); *Kausamodaka* (p 85); *Karantakalaka* (p 203); *Saṅga* as the home of the Cāṇḍālas (p 317); several *vāṇśika* tribes in Southern India and peculiarities of the speech of a southerner (p 205). Reference to Paranjape's Edition.

34 *JRAS*, 1913, p 396.

Brāhmaṇas.<sup>35</sup> Epigraphic evidence seems to point to their being Brāhmaṇas and the expression *śaṣṭamukhyatama* in the prologue as stated above, I take to mean "best among the Brāhmaṇas". The history of the Śātavāhanas which is the family name known in the inscriptions and who are known by their tribal name Āndhras or Āndhrabhṛtyas in the Purāṇas, is shrouded in mystery and various conflicting opinions are current as to the dates and events of their period. I am inclined to look upon the Āndhras as hailing originally from Mahārāṣṭra, and the dynasty arose shortly after the Mauryas.<sup>36</sup> The kings performed various sacrifices including the Śvamedhiya, and were great patrons of learning.<sup>37</sup> As to the successor of Āndhra Śūdraka, as also about his long life losing and regaining eye-sight etc., we have no definite information. We may however, state that nothing can be shown about this Śūdraka that goes against the particulars in the prologue. It may be contended that Śimuka could have got no time to compose dramas, as he was engaged in wars; but most probably the *Mṛcch* is the work of some Court-poet of Śūdraka, perhaps Rāmila or Sūmīla or both. As the times were not peaceful, the poet took a ready-made drama to work upon. They found some political revolution, contemporary or earlier, cleverly incorporated into the original story and made additions that would appeal to the gallery. This supposition, as indicated earlier, explains to some extent the southern influence shown by the *Mṛcch* as the Āndhras were southerners; and again the silence of Kālidāsa about Śūdraka though the latter preceded him is also explicable on the ground that Kālidāsa being proximate in time, may be taken to have known that the *Mṛcch* was not an independent work, nor was it the composition of Śūdraka; and hence he paid tribute to Soumīlaka or Kaviputra Soumīlaka, while mentioning his forerunners in the field.

Thus Āndhra Śūdraka (3rd century B.C.) seems to be the author of the *Mṛcchakatika*.

As for the date of the *Mṛcch*, Bhāsha's *Cāradatta* is the earlier limit. In spite of some dissenting voices, it seems now fairly established that the *Mṛcch* is later than the *Cāradatta*, and I have elsewhere dealt with the problem where I have shown the authenticity and authorship of the thirteen Trivandrum plays, and placed Bhāsha in the Mauryan epoch. I have also shown that the *Cāradatta* as we have it, is a fragment; that it had a sequel running on similar lines as we find in the *Mṛcch*; and that the political incident has been added by the author of the *Mṛcch*.<sup>38</sup> Thus the *Mṛcch* is later than the 4th century B.C.

35. Roy Chaudhary, *Political History of Ancient India* 3rd Edn. p. 180; Bakshi Visidha-Jana-Vistara: 1217 p. 93; Karkar, *Precious Mahārāṣṭra*, Poona 1935 pp. 406-407.

36. cf. Bakshi, op. cit. ; Karkar, op. cit. p. 401f.

37. Karkar op. cit. pp. 404-407; Bhattacharya, *Early Hist. Dehkan*.

38. In my forthcoming work—"Bhāsha—A Study".



Coming to the later limit, Śūdraka and the *Mṛcch* have been first referred to by Vāmana (8th Century A.D.) though some critics prefer to see a direct reference to the *Mṛcch* in Dhanika's *Avaloka* (10th century A.D.).<sup>39</sup> The quotation in Daṇḍin's *Kāvyaadarśa* (11. 126) of the well known verse *śimpattina* etc. is clearly from Bhāsa. The absence of Śūdraka's name from the introductory verses to the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa (7th century A. D.) does not necessarily prove the priority of Bāṇa or the non-existence of the *Mṛcch* in Bāṇa's time<sup>40</sup>. As regards the relation of the *Mṛcch* to Kālidāsa, most European scholars admit the priority of the *Mṛcch*,<sup>41</sup> and we have already indicated the possible reasons why Kālidāsa is silent as to Śūdraka. The Prakrits as used in the *Mṛcch*, further, are older than those of the three plays of Kālidāsa.<sup>42</sup> Thus Kālidāsa may be taken as the later limit, and we place Kālidāsa in the 1st century B.C. Hence the external evidence points in favour of the date, viz., 3rd—2nd century B.C., in which Āndhra Śūdraka, the author, flourished. The Southern origin of the play explains the absence of references to it by the Northern rhetoricians.

Later date has been assigned to the play on account of the use of the word *Nāpaka* which, according to Weber, is derived from the coins of Kanerki (c. 40 A.D.); but Max Müller has refuted this theory.<sup>43</sup> The trial scene is said to be according to the precepts of the Law books of the sixth or seventh century A.D.;<sup>44</sup> in this connection it may be pointed out that *Kautilya Arthashastra* and some older Smṛtis also give similar rules of procedure.

This internal evidence in favour of the antiquity of the *Mṛcch* is overwhelming. The presence of many obscure words such as *pāyasa-piṇḍāraka*, *varaṇḍalambuka*, *kalpānanta*, *śariraśprīṣā*, *gallarka*, *śuṣṭi-kākiya*, *gebrāhmanakāmya* etc., which do not occur in the classics of Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti, Daṇḍi or Bāṇa; the extensive use of the Prakrit dialects, which can be safely referred to the pre-Christian epoch; the Sanskrit in the play showing that it belonged to a period when Sanskrit was gradually ceasing to be a spoken language which it actually did after Patanjali; the social conditions referring to Brahmins following various trades and marrying women of the Śūdra caste, prevalence of slavery, the flourishing condition of Buddhism and the attitude of tolerance towards it etc.,<sup>45</sup>—all these cumulatively confirm

<sup>39</sup> cf. reference to *Kaṇvaśāstravivṛiti* in an earlier footnote.

<sup>40</sup> cf. Mahendral, Bhand. Com. Vol., p 371; Carpenter, *JRAS*, 1933, p 599.

<sup>41</sup> cf. Balvalkar, First Oriental Conference, Poona, 1914; V. Smith, *Early Hist. Ind.*, 4th Edn. p 324, n.

<sup>42</sup> *Mṛcch*, cited in Bhand. Com. Vol. p 355; Paranjape, *Mṛcch*, Bom. 1909, pp 4—50.

<sup>43</sup> Max Müller, *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p 322.

<sup>44</sup> Jolly, *Indian Law Lectures*, 1933, p 62 sq.

<sup>45</sup> cf. Paranjape, *Mṛcch*, intr. pp 4—52; Wilson, *Theatre of the Hindus*.



the date we have already assigned to Śūdraka, viz., third—second century B.C.

The political bye-plot in the *Myrōk* which runs on parallel lines with the main story, has been added by Śūdraka to the *Cārudatta* as he got from Bhāsa. The revolution is not at all necessary for the development of the story; as the swapping of chariots could have been effected without bringing in Āryaka, and Cārudatta's innocence would have been proved without the intercession of Śarvilaka, by the appearance of Vasantasēnā.<sup>46</sup> Only Śarvilaka from the main love story is connected with the revolution; and it can be said that without the political upheaval he could not have got any chance to repay his obligations to Vasantasēnā.

There has been quite an amount of speculation as to the historicity of the revolution and the identities of Pālaka and Āryaka. Wilson stated long ago that the revolution was caused by the unpopularity of Pālaka through his sympathies with the Buddhists and contempt to Brahmin laws and customs. But the latter part of the statement lacks proof.<sup>47</sup> The theory of Windisch that it refers to the Kṛṣṇa story has rightly been discarded.<sup>48</sup> Sven Konow's reading the Ābhira history therefrom is also inspired more by imagination than by historical facts.<sup>49</sup> D. R. Bhandarkar has proved the historicity of the revolution, and he takes Gopāla and Pālaka to be the sons of Pradyōta, and states that after Pradyōta's death, Pālaka the younger son succeeded him, and Āryaka, the son of Gōpāla succeeded in usurping the throne.<sup>50</sup>

The exact purpose why Śūdraka selected this particular revolution for interweaving the Cārudatta-Vasantasēnā love affair is not explicable for want of detailed history of the Ābhira period. It seems likely that such political revolutions were the order of the day in those troubled times and Śūdraka chose the revolution albeit with earlier names, in order that the general public may well appreciate it.

Thus the upshot of all the foregoing is to ascribe the authorship of the *Myrōk* to Śūdraka, the founder of the Ābhira (or some of his Court-poets) and to place the work to the third—second century B.C.

46 cf. Charpentier, *JRAS*, 1923, pp 605—607.

47 Wilson, *Hindu Theatre*, Vol. I, p 158, n. also Charpentier, *JRAS*, 1923, p 606f.

48 cf. Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, p 132; Charpentier, *JRAS*, 1923, p 605.

49 Konow, *Ind. Drama*, p 37; also Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, pp 129—130 Charpentier, *JRAS*, 1923, p 606.

50 Carmichael *Lectures*, 1913, pp 64—65.

## THE ANANDA-GOTRA KINGS OF KANDARAPURA\*

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The Ānanda-gōtra kings of Kandarapura were an important dynasty of kings of Southern India, who ruled over the area, which corresponds with the modern Guntur District, with their capital at Kandarapura, during the later half of the fourth, and the earlier half of the fifth centuries of the Christian era. So far as we are aware, there are only three inscriptions pertaining to this dynasty: two of them being issued by the kings of this dynasty, and the third and the most important one being issued by Satsabhāma, grandson of King Kandara, the founder of this dynasty. The first known copper-plate grant was edited by Dr. J. F. Fleet, in *Ind. Ant.*, IX, 102 ff., and is known as the Gōraṇṭa grant of Attivarman. The second copper-plate grant was that of Dāmōḍaravarman and is edited by Dr. Hultzsch, in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, 127 ff.

Based on the above two copper-plate grants, a short but interesting note was published by Mr. D. C. Sircar of the Calcutta University.<sup>1</sup> The article though incomplete, is interesting because it has elaborately explained the suggestion of Dr. Hultzsch, that *Hiranyaparāśa* might mean the second of the *Mahādāna* or "Great Gifts". Secondly, it also attempted to settle, whether Attivarman succeeded Dāmōḍaravarman or otherwise. Whatever that may be it is unfortunate that Mr. D. C. Sircar failed to consult the most important inscription, which yields us much information, regarding the founder of the Ānanda-gōtra kings of Kandarapura. It was first noticed by the Epigraphist for Madras Circle, in his *Annual Report* for the year 1900 page 4, as *A. R. No. 155 of 1899*, and was subsequently published in *South Indian Inscriptions*, VI as No. 594.

The above three inscriptions put together give us the names of three kings: 1. Kandara, 2. Dāmōḍaravarman and 3. Attivarman. Of these kings, King Kandara appears to be the earliest one as the remaining two kings mention either King Kandara or the city Kandarapura, evidently founded by him after his own name. (*Ep. Ind.*, XVII, p. 128.) Mr. D. C. Sircar is silent about the first monarch. He quotes the statement of Dr. Hultzsch regarding King Kandara, and discusses about the other two kings. Thus his note is incomplete especially when we are able to get much information about that monarch.

\* This paper was sent to *The Indian Culture* Calcutta on 2-2-36 for favour of publication and was accepted, but has not been published till now.

1 *The Successors of the Saluvahanas in the Eastern Decan* Jour. Dept. Let. Calcutta University, XXVI, 1935.

## KING KANDARA

We know the existence of King Kandara as a historical person from the inscription of his daughter's son king "Satsabhāmalla". Some very important problems are set before us by this inscription found in the Kapōḍēśvara temple at Chēzerla, 15 miles west-north-west of Narasaraopets, Guntur District. An interesting account of the Chēzerla Temple is given in the *An. Rep.* of the Arch. Dept., Southern Circle for the year 1917-18, and by the late Mr. R. Sewell in his *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I, Krishna District.

An extract from the Chēzerla epigraph is published at the end of this note as an appendix, for it is available only in Telugu in the *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI. A careful examination of the epigraph, *in situ*, would I believe yield more fruitful results.

Kandara, probably a subordinate of the Pallavas, must have carved out a small principality for himself, after the Pallavas have concentrated their attention on the conquest of Kanchi, by his own valour. The first achievement of King Kandara after coming to the throne appears to be the winning of a battle at Dhānyakaṭa as evidenced by the epithet "*śaṭ-takṣi-tāṭṭa-tāṭṭa-karivara-ghaṭa-saukaṭa-Dhānyakaṭa-raya-sapta-kṣi*". This word *sapta-kṣi* is rather difficult to interpret. It appears to be a war implement with seven 'edges'. It is quite possible to suppose from the above epithet that king Kandara captured Dhānyakaṭa from the governors of the Pallava king Vijaya Skandavarman who succeeded the Ikavāṇa.<sup>1</sup> Dhānyakaṭa may be identified with the modern Amarāvati, 16 miles from Guntur on the river Krishna and is mentioned in the Maidavōlu plates<sup>2</sup> and in two Āndhra Inscriptions found at Amarāvati.<sup>3</sup> See Luder's List, Nos. 1225 and 1225.

The title Prithvi Yuvasāja applied to king Kandara among his titles is an interesting one. This title which occurs mainly in the Eastern Chālukya grants of later times, is applied to king Kandara, in this inscription. Hence we can infer that this title was in use for a long time prior to the advent of the Eastern Chālukya Kings.

King Kandara belongs to the gōtra of Ānanda Maharshi. The endings of the names of the kings of this dynasty, though suggestive of a Kṣatriya origin; their gōtra proves that they were Śūdra kings, as their gōtra is not found in the *Pravara Kāṇḍa* of the *Dharmasūtra*.

<sup>1</sup> Maidavōlu plates of Vijaya Skandavarman, Ep. Ind. VI, 84ff. Vijaya Skandavarman conquered Kanchi, according to Father Hecan. That when he was concentrating his attention on Kanchi, his father must have been at Dhānyakaṭa, the probable capital of the Pallavas prior to their conquest of Kanchi, in Andhra Desā, is very ably discussed by Father Hecan in his "*Studies in Pallava History*," p. 12, 13 and 19.

<sup>2</sup> J.A.H.R.S., V, 91-92.

Kandara in this inscription is described as "samavagāḥ Andhra sundarī chandanācha nākatākālā mālā purimōsha-parichaya kritāparādha va pulya xīlāra Sengā-nāha". This suggests river Krishna was one of the boundaries (Northern boundary) for his kingdom.

The importance of this epigraph is enhanced by the mention of the word 'Andhra'. In only a few of the epigraphs until sixth century A. D. do we find the word Andhra mentioned. I am aware of the word in only one of the Early Pallava grants besides this, i. e., The Maldavōlu Plates of Vijayaskandavarman.

This king Kandara was the Lord of Trikūṭa Parvata and Kandarapuravara<sup>4</sup> and Kandara Janapada, as evidenced by the Chēzerla Epigraph which says that he was "*Trikūṭa parvatapati*, and, *Kandarapuravara Janapada-dalagāḥapati*".<sup>5</sup> This Trikūṭa-parvata is also mentioned in the Ipūr Plates<sup>6</sup> of Mādhavavarman II, son of Dhāvarma, of the Vishnukūṇḍa family, and in it it is asserted that the Vishnukūṇḍas were the masters of the Trikūṭa-Malaya. It is probable that the Vishnukūṇḍas came to power after the Ananda-gotra kings of Kandarapura, for the *Trikūṭa-parvata* which was one of the important possessions of the Ananda-gotra kings was conquered by the founder of the Vishnukūṇḍa dynasty, Mādhavavarman I.<sup>7</sup> This Trikūṭa has been identified by Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, with Kōṭappakonda near Kāvūr, in the Narasarpeta taluq of the Guntur District. This identification is based on the fact that the God on the hill at Kōṭappakonda is called in the inscriptions as *Trikōṭīśvara*. (*S.I.I.* Vol. IV, No. 315 ff.) In the Chēzerla inscription and the Ipūr Plates the hill is called *Trikūṭa-parvata* and Trikūṭa Malaya. Malaya means hill. The argument implied is that the God on the Trikūṭaparyata, is named after it as Trikōṭīśvara.

Though the argument appears to be plausible, there is a little objection which should be answered. If the God is named after the hill Trikūṭa, he should have been called *Trikūṭaśvara*. But in all the inscriptions he is called *Trikōṭīśvara*. The present name of the hill is Kōṭappakonda. In the inscriptions the place where God Trikōṭīśvara dwelt was called Kāvūr. So the identification of *Trikūṭa-Parvata* requires still further research. But the proximity of the place to the Vishnukūṇḍa and Ananda gotra territories points to the possibility of the above place being the same as Trikūṭa.

That the Śālisthāyanas succeeded the Ananda-gotra kings is a gratuitous supposition, and is not borne out by facts.<sup>8</sup> The Śālisthāyana

4. Kandarapura cannot possibly be identified. The identification of Kandara Janapada will be discussed in my article on the "Extent of the Ananda gotra Domains" which is going to be shortly published.

5. *S.I.I.* Vol. VI, No. 394.

6. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XVII.

7. *J.A.H.R.S.* Vol. X, p. 197E.

8. The Successors of the Salasthāyanas etc. Jour. Dep. Let. Cal. University XXVII.



dominions never extended beyond the southern boundary of the river Krishna. All their inscriptions give us to understand that they were the lords of only two *Vishayas*, viz., Kudrāhāra and Vēngi. A close study of the place names mentioned in their inscriptions clearly indicate that the Śāṅkayana territory never extended beyond the Krishna. As observed by Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao, "Their principality consisted of two *vishayas*, Vengi and Kudrāhāra. Of these Vengi was identical with the taluqs of Ellore, Ernagudem, and Bhimavaram and Godrabara included the taluqs of Avanigadda (Divi), Bandar, Kaikuter and Gudivada."<sup>9</sup> From the inscription of Satsabhāmalā and the Gōraṇṭa Plates of Attivarma we can infer that the river Krishna formed a boundary for the Ananda-goṭra Kings.

The royal emblem of these kings is Gōḷāṅgola, King Kandara is described as *Golāṅgala Vijaya Ketana*. 'Golāṅgala is a kind of monkey with dark body, red cheeks, and a tail like that of a cow.' (Apte. *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* 414.) Fleet remarked while writing about the figure on the seal of the Gōraṇṭa Plates, as follows: "The emblem on it (seal) is probably the figure of some God sitting cross-legged on an altar, but it is anything but clear, even in the original."<sup>10</sup> Dr. Hultzsch observed that "the seal is much worn and it seems to bear in relief the figure of a seated bull facing the proper right."<sup>11</sup> But now we can definitely assert that the figure on the seal is that of a *Gōḷāṅgola*.

King Kandara had a daughter by name *Avantīlāntavati Mahādevi*. She appears to be the Mahādevi or the first and important consort of a mighty prince. It is most unfortunate that we are not informed about name and the dynasty to which that prince belonged. The name of his son is also lost to us. I believe that the word Satsabhāmalā is a title.

The Superintendent for Epigraphy in his Annual Report for the year 1927, who also edited the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. VI, comments on this inscription found at Chōzerla as follows:—

"In particular it may be noted that the restoration of the much effaced Chōzerla epigraph No. 595 has revealed the fact that the Pallava King Mahēndravikrama, who is there also called by his titles *Avantībhāṣana* and *Vijayamūrti* had a feudatory in the grandson of king Kandara of Ananda-goṭra family, through his daughter."

Here we must note that the above remark of Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Iyer seems to be unwarranted, by facts. The inscription bearing No. 592 (d. R. No. 155 of 1899) belongs to Satsabhāmalā,

9. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. V, p. 29.

10. Ind. Ant. IX, p. 109, f.

11. Ep. Ind. XVIII, 217, f.



grandson of King Kandarā. In it we do not find the name of Mahēndravikrama or any of his titles. The inscription No. 595 (A.R. No. 155-A of 1899) is inscribed on the back of the same slab, and belongs to Mahēndravikrama and in it the titles *Aṇṇabhāṣṭana* and *Pegavatī-annāṭha*, appear. If the above inference that Satsabhāmalla was the feudatory of Mahēndravikrama, is only based on the fact that both the inscriptions are engraved on the same slab, it is highly untenable. At the most No. 595 can only prove that Mahēndravikrama, as has been suggested by some (G. Jouveau-Dubreuil: *The Pallavas* p. 35) must have been related to the Vishnukundins, and that he might have visited the Chazera temple some time during their time. I could not find the title Satsabhāmalla applied to Mahēndravikrama in any of his inscriptions. If he had it, it only shows that Mahēndravikrama was related to the Āmānda-gōtrās on his mother's side. So it is not possible to suppose that King Sāṇṇabhāmalla was a feudatory of Mahēndravikrama. It may prove their contemporaneity.<sup>13</sup> The style of the two inscriptions is different. One of them is dedicated to the god Piṅgāśvara, and the other to Kapoṭīśvara.<sup>14</sup> So I beg to differ with the above conclusion of Mr. Subrahmanya Iyer.

The next problem that beems as is who succeeded king Kandarā. According to Dr. Hultzsch, "the characters of the Gōraṇṭā inscriptions are more developed than those of the Maṭṭēpāḍ plates, which is besides partly written in Prakrit." Consequently Dāmōḍaravarman must have been one of the predecessors of Āttivarman. (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. XVII, 328) Mr. D. C. Sircar, disputes the above theory of Dr. Hultzsch and observes that Āttivarman was the predecessor of Dāmōḍaravarman, on the following grounds:—

1. "The palaeography of the Gōraṇṭā and the Maṭṭēpāḍ plates suggests that the rule of King Āttivarman and that of King Dāmōḍaravarman were not separated by a great interval."
2. "As regards the first point, viz., the characters of the Gōraṇṭā inscription are more developed, I must say, when two epigraphs belong to the same period it is extremely difficult to determine as to which of them is earlier."
3. "Since the handwritings of two different scribes of even the same age may be quite dissimilar, I do not think it quite

13. Rev. Hearn writes "Nobody may refuse to accept that Śiṃhaviśnu and his ancestors and also Mahēndravarma I, when young were inhabiting in Andhra Desā, and that on many occasions must have seen the Krishna valley." *Stoddies in Pallava History*, p. 78.

14. There are more than 70 shrines at Chazera and Kapoteswara is the diety of the main temple. Piṅgāśvara must have been one of the minor but an important diety.

impossible that the difference in time between the execution of the Mattēpād and that of the Gōrantla grant is short and that Dāmōdaravarman was a successor of Attivarman."

4. "As regards the second point, viz., that the Mattēpād grant is partly written in Prakrit; (the statement of Dr. Hultzsch) I am (Mr. Sircar is) afraid is a misrepresentation. Names like Attivarman, Kumāraja, &c., only prove that both these grants were issued in a time when the replacement of Prakrit by Sanskrit in South Indian Epigraphy was, nearly but not fully, complete.
5. "If the Ānanda Kings prior to Attivarman were Śālavas, Dāmōdaravarman who was a Buddhist must have come after Attivarman."
6. "The inscribed faces of the Mattēpād plates of Dāmōdaravarman are numbered consecutively like the pages of a modern book. This fact also seems to suggest that Dāmōdaravarman came after Attivarman."
7. "Lastly, the epithet "*Hiranyagarbhāditya*" applied to Dāmōdaravarman indicates that he was the son of Attivarman, who was a *Hiranyagarbhāditya*."

These in brief are the arguments of Mr. D. C. Sircar for asserting that Attivarman was the predecessor of Dāmōdaravarman.

In the present state of our knowledge it is not wise for us to fix the genealogy of the Ānanda-gōtra Kings. So far we are able to know the history of only three of the Ānanda-gōtra Kings. A careful study of the history of the Ikṣvāku, the Pallavas, the Ānanda-gōtra Kings, the Vishnukunḍa Kings, the Śālantāyanas, the Brihatpallāyanas and others of the time, compels us to allot at least a century for the rule of the Ānanda-gōtra Kings. After the dissolution of the Ikṣvāku Empire, the Pallavas got possession of the modern Guntur District. The Pallava suzerainty over the Dhānyakata area i.e. the modern Guntur taluka appears to be a short lived one, as the only evidence that is available for proving their suzerainty is the Maḍavola Inscription. It can now be safely asserted on the authority of the Chacheria epigraph, that King Kandara took over the Amarāyati area from the Pallavas. Then the rule of the Ānanda-gōtra Kings appear to have extended from the middle of the 4th century A.D. to the middle of the 5th century A.D. So we can suppose the existence of some more kings in between or later than the three kings of whom we know something. So it may not be worth our while to attempt to fix the genealogy of the Ānanda-gōtra Kings of Kandarpura. But one point we must admit, that an impartial consideration of the palaeography of the Mattēpād and the Gōrantla Plates, indicate that the issuer of the Mattēpād plates is a predecessor of the

issuer of the Gōraṅjā Plates. Then, we have to answer the objection of Mr. Sircar that the epithet of *Hiranyagarbha* = *śākhara* = *dāśaka* applied to Dāmōdaravarman points him as the successor of Attivarman. But the answer is quite simple. Nowhere in the Maṭṭōpād Plates it is suggested that he was the son of Attivarman. Our supposing the existence of a king, else than Attivarman who must have performed the *Hiranyagarbha-dāna* and a *Gōśakharra-dāna* will be more logically in tune with historical reasoning, than throwing out palaeographical evidence altogether. Palaeography, though not a sure test for determining the exact age of a plate, one can with certain amount of certainty say by the development of the characters which plate is earlier. My examination of the above two plates leads me to the same conclusion as that arrived at by Dr. Hultzsch. Dr. Hultzsch did not attempt to misrepresent facts when he said that the Maṭṭōpād Plates were partly written in Prakrit. He explained it in the same page, (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. XVII, 337) what he meant by 'partly written in Prakrit.' Nobody who studied the Ānanda-gotra inscriptions can deny the great amount of Prakrit influence in the Maṭṭōpād plates. Excepting in one line all the names of the donors and their *gotras* are in Prakrit.

If a set of plates be numbered consecutively like the pages of a modern book, I do not think, it is a strong criterion for proving its antiquity or otherwise.

If we are to believe in the thesis of Mr. D. C. Sircar that "If the Ānanda Kings prior to Attivarman were Śaivas, Dāmōdaravarman who was a Buddhist must have come after Attivarman," I fear, we have to allot some of the Ikṣvāku kings to a later period than the Ānanda-gotra kings. If the Ikṣvāku kings are Hindus<sup>12</sup> Damodaravarman, who performed *Gōśakharra-dāna* and gave a village to the Brahmins for his and his family's salvation for seven generations, must be considered a Hindu.<sup>14</sup> Moreover it is not improbable to suppose that by this time Buddha might have been considered as deity in the Hindu pantheon. Till the 13th century we have evidence to say that the Hindus were worshipping the Buddha in Āndhra Dēśa. So on this consideration and on palaeographical evidence, I believe that Dāmōdaravarman reigned earlier than Attivarman. We know next to nothing about Dāmōdaravarman and Attivarman, except that they granted some villages to Brahmins and that they performed some *dāna*.

On a slab set up in front of the central shrine in the Kapōtēśvara Temple at Cheserla, Nārasaraopeta Taluq, Gunjur District, is inscribed the following inscription of Satsabhāmalla, grandson of king

12. I consider the Ikṣvākus to be pure Hindus.

14. Even supposing that the performance of *Gōśakharra* should be attributed to Attivarman, as stated by Mr. D. C. Sircar, the mere fact that Damodaravarman gave a village to Brahmins for his and his family's religious merit proves him to be a Hindu.

Kandara of the *Ānanda-gotra* family. Only the *first 13 lines* of the inscription, describe king Kandara and so they alone have been given below. The inscription consists of about 50 lines. I have given this transliteration for the use of the scholars, who are not conversant with the Teluga script. This transliteration is based on the text published by the Epigraphical Department, in the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Volume VI, as No. 594.

# TEXT OF THE CHEZERA INSCRIPTION.

(S. I. I. VI, No. 594).

1. Śīl Pīṇḍīśvarāya
2. Kālīśvara śāravīra<sup>1</sup> (kē) tōh śvasakti śālitā
3. śātrava-karivara-gbaṭa-saṅkhaṭa Dhānyukaṭa rāṇa-
4. sapta-kōṭah prabhīṭa-Prithivī Yuvarajaś Ā-
5. nandakar-Ānanda maharshi-mahāgōtra vīṇad-amala-
6. sakala tu(hi)nakirapasya samavagāḍ = Āndhra-mundarī-
7. chandan-ānchan = śaktake-tōḥ-māḥ-parimōḥa
8. (pa) richaya kṛtīśparādha vaiṇaṭya ut = Śāra-Bennā
9. nāthasya Trikūṭa-parvatapatēḥ Gōlāṅghā
10. (vija) ya-kōṭanasya haṭṭaka paṭa-paṭa-bara (valsa
11. mapya.....dyōgasya Kandara-puravara-Janapada-dvīṭayā
12. dhīpatēh Kandara-rājasya priya sūṭayam avasthānā
13. vatyam = mahādēvyam sanjāta.....etc., etc.
14. \* \* \*
15. ...sa-sakala-kala-viśrūdas-Satsabhāmalla.

1 It is not clear whether any words are lost here. *Ed.*

2 Read "kālīśvara-hara-vīra". The context of the inscription as well as the phrase "Sa-garūḍa-Mura-ripa-sasātha-sāsanah" in line 23 and "sama-samaya-samunnata-Grāha-ādhyāṣita-kōṭanah" in line 25 of the inscription supports the above suggested probable reading.

3 This seems to be rather a title or epithet than real personal name. *Ed.*

## VELICHERLA GRANT OF PRATAPARUDRA GAJAPATI

Dated Saka Samvat 1432.

O. VENKATARAMAYYA, B.A., B.L.

Velicherla is a Sattriem village in Kōrūr Taluk, situated about twenty miles to the north of Nellore. This village is still in the possession and enjoyment of the descendants of the original donee Kondaya. Mr. Polugutta Venkataramasiah, a pensioner (since deceased) was kind enough to lend me the engraved plates for publication. I edit this grant in this journal through the kindness of the Editor, Mr. Hanumanth Venkata Krishnamoorti.

The grant is engraved on three thick copper-plates, each measuring about  $8\frac{1}{4}$ " long,  $1\frac{1}{4}$ " broad and  $\frac{1}{8}$ " inch thick and containing a petal-like projection with a hole in the middle about  $\frac{3}{4}$ " inch long on the left side of each plate. The ring with which these three plates were strung together passed through the round hole in these projections. Unfortunately, this ring is missing. It might have contained the seal or the family legend and the emblem of the grantor. The projection of the third plate is also found broken.

The inscription is engraved on four faces of these three plates. The outside of the first and third plates which are left blank act as covers to the writing on the inner sides of these plates. The inscription begins on the inner side of the first plate, runs on either side of the second, and ends on the inner face of the third. It consists altogether of thirty nine lines written in Telugu characters which may be assigned to the sixteenth century. The language of the inscription is mainly in Sanskrit verse except the boundaries of the village granted which are in Telugu.

There are some orthographical peculiarities which deserve mention, though the script in general is now very much unlike the modern Telugu characters. Thus for instance letters *z*, *ḍ* and *d* (𑖩, 𑖪, 𑖫) are all written very much alike and the context alone should decide which particular consonant was intended by the scribe. And similarly *ss* (𑖬) is written like *ḥs* (𑖭) some of the eccentricities of the scribe which are more or less peculiar to the Telugu scribes are noticeable in this record. The following are some of them. Firstly, the writer is fond of doubling the consonant that follows the anusvara; e.g. *samssargga* for *samsargga*, *amēḥḥjāta* for *amēḥjāta*, *paṃcḥḥa* for *paṃcḥa* and *praphullamṭṭi* for *praphullamṭi*. Secondly, he is equally fond of doubling the consonant that occurs in conjunction with the letter 'r'; thus for example, *sarvva* for *sarva*, *kirtṭi* for *kṛti*, *vartṭi* for *vṛti* etc. The secondary sign

for 'r' which is called *velapala-gilaka* in Telugu is invariably used where it occurs in conjunction with another consonant. In modern script the *velapala-gilaka* is not frequently used; the letter "r" is written in its primary and full form and the consonant that comes in conjunction with it is written in the secondary form. Thus for example where the average modern scribe would write నర్తక and రేరి the scribe of the record under wrote నర్తక and రేరి.

The inscription contains about twenty verses which are in chaste language, and run very smoothly. There are one or two metrical errors which are quite negligible. For instance line 20 reads *pātrair-bekara-maha-pātrair*. In this line one syllable or mātra is in excess and the passage will be correct according to the rules of prosody if it is read as *pātrair-bekra-mahapātrir*. Similarly in lines 26—27, in the portion "*Nārāyaṇa-yajñanāḥ-paṇḍitya*" there are three extra syllables. The rules of metre will be satisfied by reading the passage as "*Nārāyaṇya-paṇḍitya*." But the poet evidently sacrificed the canons of metre for recording the fact that the donee's grandfather was an *yajña*'s sacrificer. The latter half of line 31 and the first six letters of line 32 do not seem to be wholly grammatical in their construction. But it is no difficult to surmise what is intended to be conveyed by those words. To bring grammar and sense into consonance the passage may be read as follows:

line 31: Tasya-grāmasya-sima-chihṇani śala-sibath-

line 32: bhāṭh addhāḥ śrīyāṭe ]

Lines 32 to 36 of the grant are in Telugu prose and contain the boundaries of the village granted.

The first portion of the grant which, as has been remarked already, is in verse, contains very important and interesting information about the Gajapati dynasty. The first verse is in praise of god Viṣṇu; the second of the Pristine Boar (*Adi-varāha*) incarnation of Viṣṇu. The third stanza sings the glory of the Sun-god, the progenitor of the Gajapati dynasty which evidently claims to be of solar descent. Verses 4 to 14 are in praise of the family of the donor. The 15th stanza and a portion of the 16th relate to the date of the charter. The remaining portion of the 16th and the whole of the 17th verse mention the village granted, and the district to which it belonged. Verses 18—19 are devoted to the description of the donee and his ancestry. The remaining verses deal with the rights and privileges of the donor in respect of the chatry or the village. Stanzas 22 and 23 at the end are the usual imprecatory verses.

The *raison-de être* of the grant is not recorded in it: but the grant was of the village of Velicharla to a brāhmin householder, Koṇḍaya, an inhabitant of the village Pulugulla, of the Bhāradvāja *gotra*, who was the son of Dhammayya and son's son of Nārāyaṇa-yajña and a follower



of Vajurvēda. The date of the grant is given in verse (ll. 22-24) which runs as follows:

Kara-Rāma=ābdi- sītāsthā sakhīhyēka Śaka-vatsarē  
 ..... Pramōdōdā-anubhāvaḥ māsē-Kārtika nāmanī  
 śukla-tīrtiya-divasē Bhārgavasya cha vātarē \* \* \*

The conventional expressions Kara, Rāma, Abdi and Sītāsthā read backwards will yield the Śaka year 1432 which coincided with the cyclic year Pramōdōdā or Pramōdita; the month was Kārtika, the week-day was Friday, and the *tithi* was śukla 3 or the third lunar day of the bright fortnight. The exact equivalent of the date in the Christian era is Friday, 4th October 1510 A.D.

This date is important in another way. It shows that the sway of the Gajapati dynasty of Orissa extended as far south as Conjeevaram or Kanchi in the middle of the sixteenth century. Otherwise it would be difficult to understand how a ruler of Gajapati dynasty with his seat of government in the remote north should be able to make a grant of a village in the Pāka-nāṇḍa country (Pāṁkanāṇḍa) which covers a large portion in the modern Nellore district. According to this inscription, it appears that the suzerainty of the Gajapatis attained zenith during the sixteenth century. The empire of Gajapatis seems to have extended from the Gauḍa country (Bengal) on the north as far south as Nellore district and probably further to the borders of Conjeevaram (Kānchi) and on the west it seems to have covered a portion of Telingana which formed part of the dominions of the Saltaas of Golconda and which is the local name for the eastern half of the Nizam's Dominions comprising all their Telugu districts. The reference to the subjugation of the citadels (durga) of Telinganā in lines 8-9 affords proof of indubitable the extent of the empire on the west.

The Gajapati dynasty of Orissa claimed Solar descent. This is borne out by the reference to the Sun-god as the progenitor of the family. (l. 6) The first great king of the dynasty was Kapilōda (l. 6) He is said to have conquered the kings of the South and stormed the strong citadels (durga) of Telingāna. (l. 73) His son was Purushōttama, who was a great king and an excellent poet (l. 10) His son and successor was Pratāparudra Gajapati (l. 12) He defeated the armies of and conquered the Gauḍa kings and annexed their kingdoms (l. 13) He was a powerful monarch as his titles Mahārāja (l. 15) Rājendra Paramēsvara (ll. 15-16) Śrīmad-rājādhirāja and Pancha-Gauḍ-ādhibhāyaka<sup>1</sup> (l. 16) Virakṣara, Māna-Gōvinda-lakṣhana, Vidyānidhi,

1 The expression Pancha-Gauḍ-ādhibhāyaka which occurs in line 16 cannot be satisfactorily explained. Who the Pancha-Gauḍas were, over whom Pratāpa Rudra Gajapati held sway as the supreme lord, remains still to be ascertained. The following are generally known as Pancha Gauḍas or the five Gauḍas: Utkala, Malhilla, Kanoja, Kanakubja and Sāvarya. [Probably the epithet Pancha-Gauḍ-ādhibhāyaka was meant to be a title, Ed.]

Pāṅkanāṇḍi-Chōka-maṇḍala-Nāyaka.<sup>2</sup> Tribhuvana-Tōḍaramalla, Raṇabapijāra, Pratiṣṭa-viravara Sri Venkata-Gajarāja and Pratiṣṭa-mūrtāṇḍa, clearly indicate and proclaim. The historic value of some of these titles is not clear, and it remains for the future researches to find out the proper interpretations for them. The title Pāṅkanāṇḍi-Chōka-maṇḍala-nāyaka need not mean two distinct territorial divisions Pāṅkanāṇḍu or Pāṅkanūḍu and Chōkamaṇḍala, for a portion of Pāṅkanāṇḍa was known as Pāṅkanāṇḍu Chōkamaṇḍala. The latter cannot be identified but Pāṅkanāṇḍu seems to be the same as Pāṅkanāṇḍu which comprises the northern half of Nellore and the southern portion of Guntur. The expression Raṇabapijāra seems to be special title of Gajapati dynasty but the exact significance cannot be explained at present.<sup>3</sup> This grant would appear to have been made from the king's seat at Udrakonda which is called *Kaṇaka* meaning 'capital.' It is probable that Udrakonda which cannot be identified now was the seat of the provincial governor who was in charge of the southern provinces that comprised the eastern Andhra seaboard. There are some brahmana families in Ongole with the family name *Udrakonda* but they are not able to locate the village definitely. It was probably a place of importance in the olden days in the Nizams Dominions. Another important place is Jaladanki which is said to be a *sthala* "the head-quarters of territorial division" named after it. Jaladanki exists today in Nellore District but it is not an important village.

The political and social dignitaries that are mentioned in the charter are an interesting study in themselves. They are Behara, (Behra) Pātra, Mahāpātra and Śhanta. There is no doubt that these were titles of rank in the court of the Gajapatis and the holders of these dignities were apparently officers in charge of the administration of the provinces.

<sup>2</sup> The word Chōkamaṇḍala seems to be misreading for Chōkamaṇḍala. Ed.

<sup>3</sup> It may seem rather fantastic to suggest that the Raṇabapijāra is a Telugu word. But it resembles the word *baṇari* which means "an itinerant dealer in rich and other provisions on pack saddle". It might have an interesting history behind it. It is equally possible that the Telugu word *baṇi* is a variant of *baṇi* which is itself a variant of the Sanskrit word *vaṇi* which means "a merchant". The substantive word is *vaṇi* and *ari* may be a suffix, indicating trade business etc. Cf. Hindi words like *paṇkhara* 'cotton dealer', *vaṇkhara* a 'goldsmith' and the like. Similarly in Telugu the same suffix in some modified form occurs in several Telugu words, e.g. *Pajari*, *lekari*, *serpati* *tirpati*, *omari*, *chupari*, *kapari*, *tepari* and so on. There is some philological affinity between *va* and *la* in Telugu and this *baṇi* may become *baṇi*. This interchange of *v* into *l* is borne out by the word Telugu itself which has a variant in Tenuḡu. [With due deference to the author of this note, I wish to interpret the word *Raṇabapijāra* as 'one who is firm on the battlefield.' The word is a compound of three terms *raṇa*, *baṇi* and *jāra*. The word *baṇi* may be a variant of *baṇi* which means 'standfast', 'firm' etc. See *Sahakaravakharana*. Both *v* and *l* are also interchangeable in Telugu. Thus *Raṇa-baṇi-jāra* seems to be a peculiar Telugu compound. Ed.]



10. shōttamēndrah | sugandhasya tatat-kavitāvilāsē samkhyāvatām  
karṇa(karṇa) = rasāyanāni |
11. divā-nīdāni tasya mahāśvarasya pratāpa-bhāṇa pari-dṛśyamānē |  
nāka = āpagāyāni malināni ni-
12. tyath a = āti prapūllarhiti na-koṭmalarhiti | Putrōbhavati-tasya  
Gaṇīvarasya Pratāparudrah-parasainya.

*Second Plate: First Side.*

13. raudrah sa-Gaṇārājasya bhāṇi jltvā | praty = agraśid (i) rājyam-  
adhiṣya-dhanvā mati = ōbha-
14. kushbbhaṇa samasāhu tasya dṛshītvā palāyya sva-purāni pravāḍya |  
bhay = ākulō Gaṇa-ā
15. patiḥ kadāpi- | bībbi-kuchao s = ōkashitum-ihatō sma Sa-  
bhūpatir-mahārājendra Para-
16. mōśvarah | Śrīmad-Rājādhirājendra-Pañcha-Gaṇā-adhināyakaḥ |  
Yadāsvi virakṣṇarō Māsa-
17. Gōvinda- lūchchhanah | Vidyānīśhīb Pāṭkanapdī-Chōka (1a)  
mandala-nāyakaḥ | Tribhuvana-Tōdara
18. mallō-Raja-bani-jārah pratāpa-vīra-vataḥ | Śrī Venkkaṣa-Gajarājah  
Pratāparudrah
19. pratāpa-mārttīśhōdāh Vamdrakomda-mahā-durgga-kaṭakō manī-  
śōbhinē |
20. Sishhyasasō(sishhāsanē) sāmāsīṇa vidvājyana-samāvṛte | Pātrair-  
Beharū(Behrū) Mahā-
21. Pātrair-sēmanṭai parivēṣitah | pālayan prīhivīm sarvān Purubū

*Second Plate: Second Side.*

22. ta-yiv = āparah Kara-Rā s = ādhi-dīkṣhā samkhyāka śaka-  
vatsarō | Pra-
23. mōdud = anybdavarō māṇō Kārttika-nāmanī | āukla-tritīyā  
(itīya)divasē Bhā-
24. rggavasya cha vāsarō VB(U)dayāchala-durggasya pūrvabhāgē  
pratishṭhīṭh Ja-
25. ladanṅki-sīhalē Pāṭkanapdī-sīnī virājītam Velicheria-grāma-  
ratnam Pulu.
26. guḷla-nivāsīnē | Śrī Bhāradvāja-gōtrāya Yajus-śākhā-pravaritīnē  
Nāra-
27. yapa-yajvanah-pautrāya Dhammayasy-ātma-sūnavē | Koṇḍāya-  
dvijarājā-
28. ya samasta-guṇa-śōbhinē | sa-biraṇy = ōdakair-dhārāpurvāt  
kṛtvē samādarā-

29. t<sup>1</sup> Shaṭ-triśśad = āvōdana karabitaru nirupādhikaru āchandr =  
ārkaputra-pautra pāra-  
30. th-pary = ācūśasanaru || Ādi-krayādi-yōgyantichche sarva-bhōga  
samanvitaM | prāda-

*Third Plate: First Side*

31. Durgā-Jagannātha-sannidhau dharmā- vṛddhayē ḡ Tasya-  
grāmasya Sīma-chibhāni Śīlētata-  
32. bhāi-disthai-jōḡyēni || Grāmān-tūppuna dathōḡu-dōvanu-  
gunṭanu-rāini [ | \* ] Ajōḡyāna  
33. charlōḡu-viḡanḡalō rāi [ | \* ] Dakshigāna Obēmullagunṭānu  
ā-paḡumati-kaṭṭuvanu rā-  
34. inai Nairuti-mōlānu Rēvaḡigunṭa-paḡumati-kommuna rāi  
paḡumata-nilvu-rāi [ | \* ] Vāyu-  
35. vyāna Varḡudathōḡa-rāi Uttarāna-Vappuri-ervu-tūppu-  
gommuna rāi [ | \* ] (ānyānā)-  
36. Mudulla-gunṭa-dhōḡānu rāyi Ivi-yēla polam-sarḡjālu || Ēka(va-  
agiṇi lōke sarvā-  
37. shām-ōva bhōbhōjārū na-bhōḡyā na-karagrāhya vipra-dattē  
vasuḡdhārā | Sva-da-  
38. tūth para-dattām-vā yō-harōd-vasudham-imaru shashṭhī-  
varuḡa sahasrā-  
39. nī viśṭayārū jāyatō krimi

**A Note on the Date of the Vellicherla Grant.**

B. V. KRISHNA RAO, B.A., M.L.

The date of the Vellicherla grant is given as Ś. S. 1432, presumably expired, corresponding to the cyclic year Pramōdūta or Pramōdōda, the third *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kārtika. Unfortunately, the Śaka Samvat and the Cyclic year do not agree, for Śaka 1432 expired coincided with the cyclic year Paridhāvi. Śaka year 1433 expired or 1434 current alone would correspond to the cyclic year Pramōdūta. The Śaka year 1432 would therefore appear to be a mistake of the composer of the charter for Śaka year 1433. If the Śaka Samvat and cyclic years coincide, the year would be 1433 and the date of the grant in Christian era would be equivalent to Friday, 24th October, 1511 A. D. This seems to be the proper date of the charter,

The date of the charter is also important for another reason as well. A stone inscription in front of the temple of Virabhadra at Gōnuguṇṭa in Ongole taluka, Guntur district, records in Telugu that on Tuesday, the 11(12)th *tithī* of the bright fortnight of Kārtika, Pramōdita *samvatsara*, Ś. S. 1433 expired, while Krishṇadēvarāya-Mahārāya was reigning over the kingdom. Śrīrāyaṇi Abbenāyaṇiyāu gave the village of Gōnuguṇṭa in Kacharīśākṣa-sāma in Koṇḍaviḍu-rājya, for the religious merit of Timmarasu-rāva, who was the donor's immediate master at Koṇḍaviḍu for providing *amṛtapāṇi* to Amrēśvara Śiva of Gōnuguṇṭa.<sup>1</sup> Timmarasu mentioned here was evidently the celebrated minister, *Mahāśivāś-pradhāna* of Krishṇadēvarāya. In the details of the date of this record also there is a slight discrepancy. The week day could not be Tuesday if the *tithī* was 11. Obviously the *tithī* was 12 for it would be extremely appropriate for the donor to make the charity on Kārtika *śuddha* Pūṇima, which would be an important day for Śiva worship. The editors of the inscription must have lost sight of this and read the worn out figures as 11 instead of 12. The proper equivalent of this date in Christian era would then be, Tuesday, 4th November, 1511 A. D.

The proximity of the date of these two records is curious and interesting. It would appear from these two records that both Krishṇadēvarāya and Pratāparudra Gajapati held sway simultaneously in the Southern Andhra country. Apparently, Krishṇadēvarāya's forces gained hold in Koṇḍaviḍu-rājya; and active hostilities must have commenced between the Gajapati and the Emperor of Vijayanagara and that the former had suffered already some reverses. Krishṇadēvarāya's annexation of some of the provinces in the Gajapati Dominions is also mentioned in a slightly later record at Tirupati. The record is dated in Śaka year 1436 expired<sup>2</sup> and mentions that king Krishṇadēvarāya attacked Pratāparudra Gajapati, defeated and pursued him as far as Udayagiri and captured the fortress. It would therefore appear from the above that Krishṇadēvarāya's wars with the Gajapati king commenced early in 1511 A. D.

1. Nellore Ins. Ongole 46. Raagachari—Topl. List of Ins., Madras Presidency Vol. II, p. 799, No. 371.

2. *Ep. Colla*, No. 53 of 1899. Here again the cyclic year is stated as Bhava, it could not be Bhava but Anala or Nala.



**KRISHNDEVARAYA  
AND HIS PATRONAGE OF TAMIL POETS.**

PANDIT SOMA SUNDARA DESIKAN,  
(Tamil Lexicon, University of Madras).

'The empire of Vijayanagar came into being under stress of circumstances which necessitated the gathering together of all the strength that the Hindu civilization was capable of putting forth in an effort to preserve that civilization from the utter destruction which has already overtaken it in this part of India' said Dr. S. K. Ayyangar in his *The yet remembered ruler of a long forgotten Empire*. It was Kṛṣṇa Dēvarāya that brought the Vijayanagar Empire to its zenith. He himself being a poet of no mean order, it is no wonder that he was a patron of Telugu and Sanskrit literature. But it was not well known that he was a good patron of Tamil Literature also.

During the latter part of the fifteenth century, the Tamil country was overrun by the Ōḍras and much damage was done by them in the country. Some of the atrocities committed by the Ōḍras are inscribed even in inscriptions. From inscription No. 1 of 1903 and 93 of 1906 we learn that the Ōḍras did much damage even to Temple properties. 'No. 93 of 1906 dated during the reign of King Viṣṇupākṣa and Śaka Sathvat 1395, the cyclic year Naadana, refers to the confusion caused by the Ōḍḍiyan and the consequent cessation of festivals in the Śiva temple at Jambai in the South Arcot District for ten years. No. 1 of 1905, dated two years earlier (1470-71 A.D.) during the reign of Sāḷuva Narasiṃhadēva mahārāja also refers to the confusion caused by the Ōḍḍiyan about 8 or 10 years ago and to the Viṣṇu temple at Tirukkollur getting out of repair in consequence.<sup>1</sup> This statement of the Government Epigraphist is borne out by a stray stanza found in the *Tamīl Nāṭalar caritai*, "*History of the Tamil Poets*," said to have been composed by one Tatvapraṅkāsar of Tīrevāṅkūr. In this stanza addressed to Kṛṣṇa-dēvarāya, the author compares the Ōḍra occupation to the Muḥammadan invasion under Malik Kafur. The Tamil country was relieved of this thralldom by the rise of the Vijayanagar Empire, and the Ōḍras were completely annihilated by the Rāya after the campaign of Rāichūr and Koṇḍaviḍu. This fact has been immortalized in a stanza by a poet named Kumāra Sarasvatī. The stanza is in Veṇbē metre and has a dual

1 Anl. Rep. South Ind. Epy. 1906.

meaning.<sup>2</sup> The poet alludes to the defeat of the Ōdra king and refers also to the marriage of his daughter. When it applies to the king it means that the Ōdra king lost the Kalinga country the town of Kaichang and the province of Kafaka. When it applies to his daughter it conveys the meaning of that his daughter's *saree* became loose, her bangles and shoulder ornaments also became loose, perhaps by her love and anxiety. This poet seems to have been well patronized by the Rāyā. For we find him again alluding to an Abhirāma who has been doing much mischief in the Empire. This poet alludes to the mischief done by him and abuses him downright.<sup>3</sup>

From two stanzas<sup>4</sup> found in the walls of the Temple *gopura* at Tirukkadavūr—now a Railway station in the South Indian Railway,—we learn that one Āpatsahāyan was instrumental in raising an army and besieging Rāichūr and Bijāpūr and after retirement settled the routine of the daily worship of the Tirukkadavūr Temple. In the Report of the Government Epigraphist for the year 1906 we read as follows:—'On the third *gopura* of the Amṛtaghaṭṭhara Temple at Tirukkadayūr in the Tanjore District are engraved two Tamil verses which register an endowment by a brahmin named Āpatsahāyan of Kadavur for Temple repairs. The donor is said to have pleased Kṛṇaḍṭhārāya by his warlike deeds at Rāichūr and Vijayanagara and the date is cyclic year Viṣaya which stands for Viṣa corresponding to Śaka Samvat 1444 and 1501—33 A.D. Probably the author of these stanzas may be Āpatsahāyan himself who held high posts in the Empire.'

It is a well known fact that Kṛṇaḍṭhārāya after defeating the Ōdras directed his attention towards the South. During his southern

2. *Kōṭinga māṭantu nutik kaichangan torru  
maṭintu kafakanmaṭuva viṭṭā—malindamalaru  
ponniṭṭa mānūkiṭṭa kaṭṭā anṇanakkup  
piṇiṭṭa oṭṭiṭṭāpūr peṇ.*
3. *Kāttuṭi lanchak kaṭṭukka Varāṭṭiṭṭi  
Chōttotṭi vaivāṭi tondane—āttāṇ  
anda Viṭuppuramam ampinaka ruṇṇekukka  
vandeṭṭuṭṭuprāṇupirā mā.*
4. (1) *Maruṇṇal pūṇṇivaruṭi kiṭṭarāyan manamakiṭa  
pariṇṇan trāchūr vijaya sakaramam taṇṇipanni  
Tirunāṭar Chōṭṭiṭṭaṭṭar tēvaṭṭam māṭṭi trillan  
Arumaruṭi pōṇṇiṭṭi Āpatsahāyan napaṭṭurane.*
- (2) *cherralar kōṇ kiṭṭarāyanmunṇe tiru kōṭṭiṭṭi  
chōṇṇiṭṭi lapaṇa māṭi yellan taraiṭṭi meṭṭa  
mīṭṭiṭṭiṭṭiṭṭi tirupṇṇiṭṭiṭṭiṭṭi  
mappuṇṇan Āpatsahāyan kadavaiṭṭi manuvane.*

I am indebted for these two verses to the Madras epigraphical Department,

campaign he made many donations, ordered for the building of many *manḍapas* and *gṛhpuras*. In short, he paid much attention to the Temple affairs of the South. We find from the life of one *Tatvaprakāśa* that the Rāyā not only had much regard for him but also took special interest in the administration of Śrī Tyāgarāja svāmī Temple at Tiruvārūr in the Tanjore District. Tatvaprakāśa seems to be one of the trustees of the Śrī Tyāgarāja svāmī temple. The other trustees—the *sthānikas* and *Battars*—were squandering the temple properties and were doing much mischief. Out of grief Tatvaprakāśa is said to have sworn on the king Kṛṣṇadēvarāya and his minister Vadamaḷai and the presiding deity Tyāgarāja that the banner of the Lord should not be lowered when the annual festival was over. He immediately petitioned to the king by a verse<sup>5</sup> saying that the temple worship was stopped not by the Mohammadans, not by the Ōḍras but by the *Vīlittulukkakar*. These villains are a set of brahmins who assist in the worship of god Tyāgarāja. The poet compared them to Mohammadans by their atrocious acts. When the king heard the petition he transferred the *battar* named Śrībattar to some other temple. Tatvaprakāśa satisfied at the order, spoke jestingly of the *Battar* in that the latter lost gulping all his perquisites in the shape of *appam*, *aiṇṇam*, *vaḍai* etc.<sup>6</sup> It is the practice even to-day of offering these delicacies during the evening six o'clock worship and nine o'clock *pūja*. Again one *Nagarāja Nambī* of the same temple sold some of the copper images belonging to the temple. The poet composed a stanza, made it public and taught the same even to the parrots in the town. A *Patru* was set before the king and it repeated the stanza before him.<sup>7</sup> The king took immediate action on the matter. We have already stated that the king had much regard for the bard. Once he sent for him and asked his opinion about two other poets named *Koottanūṇ Appan* and *Bālakōḷam*. He informed his hearers that the poems of the former,—*Koottanūṇ Appan*,—are like that of milk and those of *Bālakōḷam* are sugar added

5. *Murudupakkā kiṇṇa mahārāya rānai*  
*Ariya vattamalaiyā nāṇae—Tiruvārūr*  
*Puḥar koṭiyaruppar pādāntiruvāṇai*  
*Tiyāgah koṭiyirakkā tē.*

6. *Ūṇit tulukkalla ottiyān iṇṇumalla*  
*vīṭit tulukkuvantu māḥṭṭu—vāṭi*  
*chīrantatiru vārūṇi tiyāgarutai paṇi*  
*iṇṇatāṭe Kīṇṇarāyā.*

7. *Unḍa vaṇirūṇi umikkānta liṇṇatē*  
*tondarē vīṭit tulukkare—paṇḍellām*  
*appam aṇaleṭ laṇṇasamam toḥaikalum*  
*kappuvatum poḥḥē haṇṇiṭu.*

to the milk, meaning thereby that they are poets of the highest order. 8 On the other hand when his opinion was sought about a poet Ottakkuttan he informed that he was a poet of no learning. With all his plain speaking he was well received at the Rāya's court.

Another poet who lived during the reign of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya was one N ā n a p r a k ā s a r. He composed a poem called *Manjarippa* and glorified him. Though the poem is not now extant we learn about it from another source named *Tondamangala Satakam*. The poet was a native of Kāncīpuram and it is surmised that he was an abbot of a mutt there.

One Mandalapurusa composed a *Nighaṇṭu* during his reign. It is a standard work of Tamil Lexicography. It is called *Oṭṭamānī Nighaṇṭu*. From all these extracts it may be clear that Kṛṣṇa Devaraya was a patron of Tamil Poets and Tamil Literature.

8. *Mankavi tāirum poṭṭkōtta nārappan vārtalaiman*  
*tanhavi leṭṭiya pālvala kōḷḷam tāmuraitta*  
*ṭṭankavi pālḷi kītu cōrk karaiḱkōvi nōmkaḷ cōllum*  
*punkatē quṇṇōṇṇu kōyamen eṭṭōḷḷip paṇṇuvārē.*



## UNHISTORICITY OF THE KAUMUDIMAHOTSAYA

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THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY has earned the gratitude of all students of ancient Indian literature and history by publishing interesting Sanskrit Drama entitled *Kaumudimahotsaya* (Appendix to an *JAHRS*, II—III). The late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal characterised the work as historical and suggested that Candrasēna whose usurpation of the throne of Pātaliputra is referred to in the drama should be identified with Chandragupta I of the Imperial Gupta dynasty of Magadha.<sup>1</sup> I have carefully studied the *Kaumudimahotsaya* and, in my opinion, major part of the matter of this work is fictitious and the identification of Candrasēna with Chandragupta I is highly fantastic and even absurd. The identification is invalidated not only by the different forms of the names, *vis.*, *Candrasēna* and *Chandragupta*, but also by the plot of the drama. Excepting Candrasēna's relations with the Licchavis,<sup>2</sup> everything that has been said in the drama about Candrasēna goes against his identification with Chandragupta I. We know that Chandragupta was the founder of a dynasty which ruled for several centuries; Candrasēna of the drama however was merely a usurper of the throne of Sundaravarman whose son, moreover, regained his father's throne when the usurper and the members of his family were killed.<sup>3</sup> We also know that Chandragupta was born in a royal family; he was the son of Mahārāja Ghaṭōtāka and grandson of Mahārāja Gupta; the drama however represents Candrasēna

1 *Historical Data in the Drama Kaumudimahotsaya*, An. Bhand. Or. Res. Soc., XII, p. 50ff; *History of India*, p. 113ff.

2 Candrasēna-batakaḥ...tataḥ svayaṁ Magadha-kulaṁ svapadiṣann...  
apī Magadha-kula-vairibhir...mūlīcchaḥ...Licchavibhir saba santibandhaḥ  
kṛtvā labdh-āvasarāḥ Kusumapuram...aparoddhātū (p. 30).

3 vata-śnubandhū nihataś...Candrasēna-batakaḥ...unmūlita-Candrasēna-  
rāja-kulath...Kalyāṇavarmanāṁ (p. 36).

4 purā kila Sundaravarmanā svayam...avidita-svabhāvataḥ viśatur  
...iva putrikṛtaś...Candrasēna-batakaḥ (p. 30). Candrasēna may have been  
a Kāraskara as suggested by Jayaswal. That he was of a low caste is  
seen from the passage: kutaś cāpīra-varṇasya aya rāja-śrī (p. 30). Matrimonial  
relations of the early Gupta kings with Brāhmanas and Kṣatriya families like that of the  
Vāṇīyakas, Kadambas, and the Licchavis appear to suggest that they belonged probably not to a low caste. The records of  
Prabhavātagupta suggest that their gōtra was Dhārṇya.

only as an upstart who was the adopted son of Sundaravarman, king of Magadha.<sup>4</sup>

A passage in the speech of the Sūtradhāra, which is supposed to prove that the drama was staged during the coronation of king Kalyāṇavarman and that the plot was taken from the past life of the king, it may be argued, proves the historical character of the *Kaumudī-mahotsava*. The drama was however edited from a single MS. It is therefore not safe to accept the above reading and interpretation if the plot itself goes against the historicity of the drama. Before proceeding to discuss the historical value of the *Kaumudīmahotsava*, we give a summary sketch of the plot.

Caṇḍasēna, the adopted son of Sundaravarman, king of Pāṭalīputra conspired with the Licchavis, the hereditary enemies of Magadha. The Licchavis besieged Kusumapura or Pāṭalīputra, and in the contest with them king Sundaravarman died on the battle-field. Then Caṇḍasēna usurped the throne of Pāṭalīputra, and Kalyāṇavarman, son of the deceased Sundaravarman, was secretly removed to a fortified place called Vyādha-kishkindha in the vicinity of the Pampā-saras,<sup>5</sup> in the Vindhya, by Mantragupta who was a minister of the dead king. While Kalyāṇavarman was passing his days at Pampā, Mantragupta, always in disguise, was at Pāṭalīputra looking for any opportunity to regain the throne for the unfortunate prince. This is the background of the plot.

A nun named Yogasiddhi was originally the nurse of Kalyāṇavarman. After Sundaravarman's death, she left Pāṭalīputra, spent her days at several holy places, and at last reached Mathurā (capital of the Śūrasēna Janapada), where she was hospitably received by Kirtisena, the Vādava king of Mathurā. Princess Kirtimatī, daughter of Kirtisena, was entrusted to her care, and the princess was sent with her to Pampā to worship at the temple of Goddess Caṇḍikā. Vindhyaśāhī, Bhavānī or Ekānāśā,<sup>7</sup> the family-deity of the Vādava royal line of Mathurā. At Pampā, princess Kirtimatī and prince Kalyāṇavarman met, and became deeply attracted to each other. Yogasiddhi saw a portrait of Kalyāṇavarman drawn by the princess and at once recognised the child who was

5 dīvasya Kalyāṇavarmanah prati-nava-rāja-lābha-sambhavadbhita-dṛṣṭi-vṛddhi-para-saṅkocā—'pi rāja-kulē punar-ayam—aperab pratyūsidati Kaumudīmahotsav-ārambhah—... kṛtin—abhināyavā—... asy—alva rājñah samatītaḥ caritam—adhi-kṛtya (Vijñā)kayā nibaddhath nūṭakam (p. 1) Prati-nava-rāja etc., is not clear.

6 ..... abhitaś—caṇḍik-āyatanaḥ paṇḍa-saraj samīpavartini..... Vyādha-kishkindha-sāmaḥ durga-sthānē ..... Kalyāṇavarmanapath (p. 3); Vindhyaśāhī-gandha-gaja-dāna-sugandharo = 'mī paṇḍipā-saraj-sallā-vicī-vimarda-śitāḥ..... (p. 7).

7. The reading *ekānāśā* has been rightly corrected by Mr. A. Ghosh as *ekānāśā* (Ind. Cult., IV, p. 271).



under her care at Pāṭaliputra. In the meantime, Maṇṭraguṭṭa brought about the downfall of the usurper. Candāsena and his family were uprooted, and Kalyāṇavarman was proclaimed king of Magadha. Yoga-siddhi and Kīrtimati went back to Mathurā, and Kīrtisena was pleased to learn all about his daughter's love affairs and her lover's fortune. He sent an embassy to Pāṭaliputra with proposals of his daughter's marriage with Kalyāṇavarman. Kīrtimati was also sent to Pāṭaliputra. Kalyāṇavarman was glad to accept her as his queen.

It will be seen that major portion of the *Kammudimahotsaya* which claims to deal with the past life of Kalyāṇavarman is concerned with the prince's love affairs, and only a small part of it with his installation on the throne of Pāṭaliputra. I do not like to analyse the details of the major portion of the plot. To me some of the details appear to be suspicious, though others may think them natural. But in a seemingly historical drama we surely expect that at least princess Kīrtimati (daughter of the Yādava king Kīrtisena of Mathurā), who is the heroine of the work and is, besides Kalyāṇavarman, the most important character in the drama should be an historical figure. In my opinion, if Kīrtimati can be proved to be an imaginary character, major portion of the plot is automatically proved to be fictitious. As regards Kīrtimati and her father, the drama says—*asti Śūrasenō nāma janapadaḥ teṣāṁ svāmī vikhyāta-kīrtiḥ Kīrti-sēnō devaḥ.....tasya—sya—ekā dubhā prāśobhyō—pī garīyasi Kīrtimati nāma.....āvayam—eva dubhitarāḥ "Candikā-yatanasḥ gatiā kālācīd—ānācy—bādhayatu bhagavatīḥ Vindhya-vāsinīm".....idābbhīkarām—bhāṣam—(taḥ prajayavān Yadanāthaḥ (p. 3) .....bhagavaty—eva Vindhya-vāsinīḥ kuṇa-dāratām hi Yadanām—ekān—amāḥ (p. 38).....tataḥ—tataḥ bhūtiṣa Vṛṇibū sāgara-grasitāḥ Dvārāvayāḥ prasthāpita-parikṣitāḥ pravrajitukāmāya tājaraḥ—Yudhiṣṭhirasya—śāśvād—dhanuḥkayena Śūrasēnō pāśābbhīdhānam (Read *paśābbhīdhānam*) Vṛṇi-kumārāḥ pratisthāpīyāḥ kār-āśmākāro dātāḥ tat-parāṇa-parayā Kīrtisēnām prāptāḥ (p. 43).*

It is clear from the above passages that, according to the author of the drama, the Yādava family was ruling at Mathurā from the establishment of Vajra up to the time of Kīrtisena Yādava, father of Kīrtimati. Now, Kīrtimati may be supposed to be an historical character, if only there existed any Yādava royal line at Mathurā about the time of Kalyāṇavarman who is supposed to have been a contemporary of

8. Cf. the names *Kīrtisēna* and *Kīrtimati*; they appear to be coined rather than genuine C/. also the mention of *Paṇḍpā* in the *Vindhyas* and in the vicinity of *Kiṣkindhā*.

9. The texts that I have consulted read the name of this prince as *Vajra*. See *Garuḍa Purāṇa* (Bangabāi ed.), *Pūrva-khaṇḍa*, Ch. 148, verse 11; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (Do), Pt. 5, Ch. 28, verse 34; etc.

Candragupta I and also of the author of the *Kaumudīmahātasa*. The continuation of Yādava rule at Mathurā from Vajra to a king of the first half of the fourth century A. D. is however utterly absurd. No Yādava king is known to have ruled at Mathura during the earlier centuries of the Christian era. Inscriptions and coins discovered in the Mathurā region do not prove the existence of Yādava rule in that locality in that period. We have early coins of native Rājās and foreign Satraps<sup>10</sup> in the Mathurā region. Epigraphic evidence proves that Mathurā formed part of the Kuṣāṇa empire.<sup>11</sup> According to the Purāṇas (e.g., Vāyu, 99, 332), seven Nāga kings ruled at Mathurā before it was conquered by the Guptas. So, the rule of a direct descendant of Vajra at Mathurā about the beginning of the fourth century A. D. is out of the question. The Yādava king Kīrtisena of the *Kaumudīmahātasa* (if he is supposed to have been a contemporary of Candragupta I) is as imaginary as his daughter Kīrtimarī, and the major portion of the plot becomes unhistorical. There is no proof that any Yādava king ruled at Mathurā even after the fourth century; the evidence of the *Kaumudīmahātasa* regarding Kīrtisena, therefore, must be regarded as extremely doubtful.

The doubtful character of the major part of the *Kaumudīmahātasa* renders the remaining portion dubious. But since the existence of a Varman dynasty in Magadha is proved by inscriptional evidence and since the Licchavis are known to have had relations with Magadha from the time of Bimbisāra to that of Candragupta I, we may think that there is some historical background of the play. But that "background" does not help us in going beyond the facts that there was a Varman dynasty which ruled at Pāṭaliputra and that there was a Varman dynasty which ruled at Pāṭaliputra and that there was a Licchavi invasion of Magadha (possibly at the time of the Varmans). The Licchavis are known to have ruled in the northern part of Bihar and the adjoining districts now in Nepal from early times to the ninth century A. D. But in my opinion, the names of Sundaravarman and Kalyāṇavarman may be accepted as historical only after their existence is proved by reliable evidence.

The Sirpur inscription (Bhandarkar's List, No. 1624) of Mahāśivagupta-Bāhijana (son of Harasagupta and Vāseṣa, and grandson of Candragupta) of the Pāṇḍava family is generally ascribed to the eighth or ninth century A. D., but may be earlier. In this record, Mahāśivagupta's mother is said to have been the daughter of Śūryavarman of

10. Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, I, p. 190 ff. Raychaudhuri, *Political History*, 2nd ed., p. 282 ff.

11. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 299, 301 ff.

"the Varman dynasty of Magadha". There is thus evidence of the existence of a Varman dynasty in Magadha before the eighth century. Śrīyavarman seems to have been related with Pūrnavarman who is mentioned Yuan Chwang as a local rājā of Magadha (about the middle of the seventh century) and as the last descendant of Aśoka Maurya. These Varmans of Magadha, moreover, appear to have been no other than the Maukharis whose names end in varman.<sup>12</sup> It is possible that the author of the *Kaumudimahotsava* refers to this Varman dynasty which ruled in Magadha after the early emperors of the Gupta dynasty, and not, as suggested by Dr. Jaysawal, to a Varman dynasty that is supposed to have ruled at Pāṭaliputra before the Guptas. There is nothing to prove that the *Kaumudimahotsava* is earlier than the seventh or eighth century A.D. The reference to Katāhanagara (p. 37) as a familiar place seems to suggest that it was composed after Kaṭāha (Ke(ā)ḍah in the Malay Peninsula) became famous under the Śailēndra emperors in the eighth century. The Śailēndras are known to have had political relations with the Pālas of Eastern India in the first half of the ninth century and with the Cōlas in the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D. It may be interesting to note in this connection the mention of Kaṭāha as a familiar place in the *Kaṭāharītaśgara* which is admittedly a late work (R. C. Majumdar, *Saṅgamaśloka*, p. 51). The *Vāmana* (19, 10-11) and *Garuḍa* (25, 3) Purāṇas however mention Katāha-dvīpa as one of the nine divisions of Bhāratavarṇa in place of Baṃmya or Gandhāra of other Purāṇas, such as the *Mārkaṇḍeya* (57, 6) and the *Vāyu* (45, 79). But the absence of any such name like Katāha in Ptolemy's Geography which gives a detailed account of Malayasia appears to suggest that the Purāṇic references to Katāha are later interpolations.

(12). The Maukharis are known to have been in Magadha from early times (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III. Introduction, p. 24). For the Maukhari occupation of Magadha about the sixth century A.D., see Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1603-05, 2079-81 etc.

## A BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF SALUVA TIMMARU

Prime Minister of Krishnadevaraya

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In the whole and vast range of the history of the Vijayanagar Empire, seldom we come across such an illustrious personality, a miraculous man of action, a sturdy soldier, an astute statesman and a sound scholar as Saluva Timma or Saluva Timmarasu,—as he was popularly called,—the Prime Minister of Krishnadevaraya. The life of this great minister, is a fine illustration of that dictum that in every society a career is open to talent, and that, provided that the man has got it, he can mount to the pinnacle of human fortune without the aid of wealth and station in life, and the perquisite of pedigree and privilege.

The contemporary Telugu literature, the chronicles of Pees and Nuniz, the lithic records of the time, give us a comprehensive, though not a complete glimpse into the history of the statesman, and especially the Indian historian should feel highly grateful to the two Portuguese chroniclers, who committed the picture of this powerful personage to the canvases of history. Though the picture they painted became dim through mist of time, nevertheless, it is dazzling in parts.

A *champu* verse in Telugu coming down through four centuries, narrates a painful story about the early life of this great man.<sup>1</sup> It was said that he had to beg for food at Chandragiri and then at Penugonda, and that he served as a valet to some feudatory chiefs of that time. Tradition states that on account of performing some great intellectual feats, he aroused the fine emotions of Krishnadevaraya and claimed his admiration so that the latter observing that this person was a man of astute intellect, made him his prime minister. But long before he began to guide the destinies of the Vijayanagar Empire under Krishnadevaraya, he held that high office under his predecessor. At first we come across his two Tâdipatri inscriptions, where, in one of them, it was stated that he was the *Mahâpradhâni* "the Great Chamberlain" of Vira Narasimharaya Mahârâya.<sup>2</sup> He presented some villages to the god Râmôdeva at Tâdipatri and in the second inscription at the same place, we find him

1. Gutim bailelu kuti Chandragiri le gâd-etti Penugonda le  
Hetta nairamunda vâli balu-durg—adhi-tâmbâlapam-  
vittul-mâli padastu—alo gândula divims divincheda  
meti—ârâi Yayâi Nâgama-utun manirivaru Timmanu.

2. S. I. I. Vol. IV, No. 802.

remitting taxes on marriages, for the religious merit of king Vira Narasimha Mahārāja.

Except these solitary instances, we do not know much about the early life of Timmarasu, and the part he played in moulding the destinies of Empire under the first Tuluva Emperor. After the death of Vira Narasimha, the part he played in the history of the Empire, became very conspicuous and was marked by marvellous and astounding feats of statesmanship of a master mind, by dazzling proofs of power, prowess, and ability only to culminate in a melancholy and a tragic end.

We turn to Nuniz to learn the circumstances, under which Krishnādēvarāja, was installed on the throne of the Vijayanagar Empire and the prominent part played by the great and illustrious statesman in shaping the course of life of that Emperor and marking his impress in the history of the Empire. Nuniz stated "This king (Vira Narasimha) died of his sickness in the city of Bimaga; and before he died he sent for Salvatima, (Sāluva Timmaya or Timma) his minister, and commanded to be brought to him his (the King's) son, eight years old, and said to Salvatina that as soon he was dead he must raise up his son to be king (though he was not of an age for that, and though the kingdom ought perhaps to belong to his brother Crisnarao) and that he must put out the eyes of the father and must bring them to show him; in order that after his death there should be no difference in the Kingdom. Salvatina said that he would do so and departed, and sent to call for Crisnarao, and took him aside to a stable, and told him how his brother had bade him to put out his eyes and make his son King. When he heard this, Crisnarao said that he did not seek to be King, nor to be anything in the Kingdom, even though it should come to him by right; that his desire was to pass through this world as a *Jōgi* (ascetic) and that he should not put out his eyes, seeing that he had not deserved that of his brother. Salvatina, hearing this, and seeing that Crisnarao was a man of over twenty years and therefore more fit to be King, as you will see furtheron, than the son of Buabalarao who was only eight years old, commanded to bring a she-goat, and he put out its eyes, and took them to show the king, for already he was at the last hour of his life; and he presented them to him, and as soon as the king was dead his brother Crisnarao was raised to be king, whose eyes the late king has ordered to be torn out".<sup>3</sup>

What Nuniz had stated, Paes, the other great chronicler confirmed in his narrative. The confirmation is quite striking. He states, "Salvatima, who is the principal person that enters the building, supervises the whole, for he got up the king and made him king, and so the king looks on him like a father. Whenever the king calls to him

3. *Ibid.* No. 903.

4. *Forgotten Empire*, p. 314-315.

he addresses him as "Lord (Senhor) Salvationics" and all the captains and nobles of the realm made a salute to him".<sup>5</sup>

The Prime Minister was very old at the time Krishnarāya was crowned Emperor, and Paes, who might have seen the statesman, wrote that he was an old man and the greatest favourite of the king.<sup>6</sup>

At the time of Krishnādēvarāya's accession to the throne, we find Timmarasa as Governor of Kondaviḍu. From a record at Ongole, it will be seen that the *rājyam*, province, of Kondaviḍu was bestowed on Sāluva Timmarasa before the stronghold of Kondaviḍu was actually captured from the king of Orissa, and that Timma made a grant of land in that *rājyam* in 1511-12 A. D. It may be surmised that the Gajapati king was not in effective occupation of the northern parts of Nellore though held the forts of Udayagiri and Kondaviḍu.<sup>7</sup>

A couple of years after Krishnādēvarāya had ascended the throne, the celebrated statesman, Timmarasa commenced to play his part in shaping the destiny of the Empire, and so dominated the men of his day, so identified himself with the history of the times, that his military prowess, political prescience and uncanny foresight, were indissolubly linked to the events of history of which he helped to shape. The biography of Timmarasa, is without any exaggeration virtually an outline of the history of the Vijayanagar Empire during the two decades following the accession of Krishnādēvarāya and during which period he was closely associated with his achievements. As soon as Krishnādēvarāya ascended the throne, he examined his treasury and army and made preparations to curb the turbulent chiefs in the south. He left the city in charge of Sāluva Timma to guard it and set out on his expedition.<sup>8</sup>

The Emperor first defeated the chiefs of Ummattūr and next captured the impregnable citadel of Udayagiri. His thirst for conquest was not quenched and he thought, as Nene stated, that his conquest of

5 *Opt. cit.* p. 248. [It would appear from another Chito verse quoted below that Emperor Krishnarāya held Sāluva Timmarasa in high esteem and called him Appaji "Venerable Father". Ed.]

"Ayya yasipimobukottivi  
neyyambuna Krishnarāya-urupungavuchē-(u)  
ayyā ! nī saci yāri?  
tiyyani vilichāḍavayya ! Timmarasaḥ !"

6 *Opt. cit.* p. 150.

7 Betterworth and Venugopalx Chetti—*Nellore Inscriptions*, O. 46, Saka 1443. The Saka year is evidently expired. A record of Krishnādēvarāya dated S. S. 1496 (expired) Bhāva samvatsara, at Tirupati, mentions the king's attack on Pratāparudra Gajapati, his pursuing him as far as Udayagiri and his capture of Udayagiri. (*Ep. Colln.* No. 53 of 1890). [It is therefore possible to believe that war had broken out between Krishnādēvarāya and Pratāparudra Gajapati early in S. S. 1483 expired, i. e., in 1510 A. D. Ed.]

8 Dr. G. K. Ayyangar *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, pp. 111 and 186.



UJayagiri was only a trivial one, and so he had determined to penetrate into the dominions of king of Oriya.<sup>9</sup> He ordered his Prime Minister to make necessary preparations for the expedition.

**CONQUEST OF KONDAVIDU BY TIMMARASU:**—The expedition against Kondaviḍu provided a wide theatre to display his great parts and disclose his indomitable courage, will and prowess. The Mangalagiri inscription which describes the capture of that fortress is one of the finest records depicting the Prime Minister's achievements. Kondaviḍu is the well-known chief fortress in Narasaraopāra Taluk of the present Guntur District. It was stated that he captured the "the swan-like kings appointed by Gajapati in Kondaviḍu."<sup>10</sup> The swan-like kings appointed by the Gajapati at Kondaviḍu were, Virabhadra the son of Pratāparudra Gajapati, Narahari-Pāra, the son of Kumāra Hummāra Mahāpātra, Mulla Khan, and Uddanda Khan of Rāchēra, Rāchirāja of Pūṣapāḍu, Śrinārāya Rāju and Lakshmiṇipati Rāju, Kōṭṭara Pāra of Janjala, Bālachandra Mahāpātra and others.<sup>11</sup> The above event took place on 23rd June, 1515 A. D., as mentioned in the above record. The conquest of the place is one of the decisive factors both in the life of the illustrious Chancellor and in the annals of the Empire. Though old, the Great Minister possessed a strong will, brilliant and powerful intellect, a conspicuous individuality, which above all combined to make him the favourite of the court, the master of the country, and the sway the Empire.

Krishnādhvārīya was not, however, content with the conquest of the Gajapati at Kondaviḍu. He wanted to penetrate into the heart of the Gajapati dominions and as far as his capital even, a desire that prompted him to display his superior military strength and not to annex permanently the dominions of the enemy. Timmarasu was not for an aggressive foreign policy and he remonstrated this with the king that it was not desirable for the Emperor to enter further into the dominions of the Gajapati's country, as there was the possibility of his being attacked on the flank by the Muhammadans who might succeed in cutting off his supplies.<sup>12</sup> The Emperor did not heed the advice of his Prime Minister but proceeded on his campaign. As usual, the Prime Minister along with the other nobles followed the march. It is not appropriate here to describe the details of the march and the various encounters on the way. The Gajapati was ready to face the Vijayanagar armies and measure his strength with them. He assembled his forces with the aid of his sixteen Śatrapas or Mahāpātras. The Emperor was informed of the enemy's mighty preparations and the pitched battles he had to fight, and

9 *Forgotten Empire*, pp. 216—17.

10 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI pp. 108—109.

11 No. 307 of 1897; No. 374 of 1902; and 126 of 1903 of *Madras Epigraphical Collections*.

12 *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, pp. 116 and 122.

then he consulted his Prime Minister, Sālova Timma, sagacious as he was, thought of gaining victory by a stratagem. The Emperor was aware of the great ability of his aged minister and so he delegated to him necessary powers to do as he liked. Then the crafty minister despatched some chests full of gold and valuables to the Sixteen *Mahā-pātras* along with secret letters with the intention of seducing them to desert their master during the fight. It was proposed in those letters that the chests were despatched to the *Pātras* according to a previous understanding between them and Krishnadevarāya, that they should abandon their master during the battle. The boxes fell by a premeditated device into the hands of the Gajapati's messengers who placed them before their master. The Gajapati became alarmed, and having been terribly afraid of the treachery of his subordinate chiefs, abandoned his capital and ran away to a place of safety. The *Mahāpātras* came to know of the king's flight and return themselves to their respective fortresses. Thereafter, Krishnadevarāya summoned the minister of the Gajapati king and informed him, that he had not come to annex the territory and that he was ready to relinquish the same to his master and return to his capital. The Gajapati was duly informed of the generous intention of the Emperor. The Gajapati king returned to his capital; and he along with his subordinate chiefs begged the pardon of the Emperor. The Gajapati too rose to the occasion and showed magnanimity. He gave his daughter to Krishnarāya in marriage and made presents of valuable gems, ornaments, elephants, horses etc. and ceded all the country to the south of the river Krishna as dowry of his daughter. The stratagem of Timmarasa completely succeeded not only in securing to the Emperor complete control of the northern dominions of the Empire but also in bringing a fair damsel, as a life long companion for his lord.<sup>12</sup>

Nundā wrote a different story about this chivalrous conqueror and the illustrious vanquished, and the part the celebrated Chancellor of the Vijayanagar Empire played in it. During the victory against the Gajapati at Koppinalli the Emperor espoused a son of that king and having come to understand that the son was an expert at fencing, the Emperor arranged for a duel with one of his experts in that line. The son of the Gajapati refused to cross swords with the expert, on the ground that he was not of the blood royal and then slew himself. When the Gajapati came to know of the death of the son he wrote to the Minister Timmarasa asking him the means by which he could ransom his wife who remained in the custody of the Emperor. Timmarasa was stated to have replied, that the Gajapati king should arrange the marriage of his daughter with the Emperor, and that afterwards the Emperor would

12. *Ibid* pages 116 and 132.

restore to him, his (Gajapati's) wife and lands. So the marriage was arranged and the wife and lands of the Gajapati were thereafter restored to him.<sup>14</sup>

According to the above authority it is stated that Sāluva Timmarasu was appointed to be the Governor of Kōṇḍavida after the Emperor returned from expedition against the land of 'Catuir'. The Prime Minister on his way to Kōṇḍavida encountered with a huge army of a Muhammadan general of one of the Sultans of the Deccan. Sāluva Timmarasu easily won the day, captured the Muhammadan general, his wife and son, horses, elephants and much money, and handed over them to the Emperor who imprisoned the captives Timmarasu, thereafter remained at Kōṇḍavida and after restoring peace and order there, returned to Vijayanagar.

After Timmarasu returned, Kṛishṇadēvarāya set out on an expedition against Rāichūr. The expedition was undertaken on the advice tendered by the Prime Minister. It is stated by Nuniz that many of the nobles differed from the Prime Minister in the wisdom of the suggestion.<sup>15</sup>

Kṛishṇadēvarāya was successful in his expedition, and the success was entirely due to the great powers of organisation, skill, ability, knack for discipline, of the Chancellor and, the steadfast loyalty of the various subordinate chiefs who had contributed to the success of the mighty campaign so vividly described by Nuniz.

We may now pause to take stock of the various encomiums showered on the celebrated Minister, who richly deserved the same, and which were recorded both in literature and title records of the times. In the Bezwada inscription of Singārāja, one of the commanders of the Emperor in the expedition against Gajapati, the praise of the Prime Minister was sung as follows:—<sup>16</sup>

इवा किल जगति सकलरिपुकुलममजित्वा जयलभ्यमधिपोदुनूनिधाय निजवशे  
गजतुरगपलमधिकराज्यं प्रान्य च यवनपतेरहित्वा विजित्य विशो विजयनगरमासाद्य  
मणिनयनालङ्घ्य सिंहासनमशिलमपि मुवनमारं मूर्तिमति विद्यामनिवासे निश्चिलगुणाना  
मतिपनधाम्नि सालाविम्वन्तानि मन्त्रिणि प्राति विजिततुरमन्त्रिणि निधाय पदधाव्य  
प्रमाणपरावारपरदृष्टनां प्रतिविबुधपलातमावरिधनां मनीषिणामपि काव्यनादकालंकार  
भाषाविशेषवेदिनां चतुर्विधकवितासाधन्यमधितिष्ठतां कविनामध्वपरेषामपि विद्यावतां स  
हतां गोप्त्रीषु गरिष्ठेषु सततमवनीवनीपकमनीषितपूरेषु च मनो निधाय निरवधिकमतुल  
मवनीसाम्राज्यसुखमनुभवति.

14. *Forgotten Empire* page 220.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 323.

16. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 759 ll. 70-75.

In the Bapatla record, it is stated that Sāluva Timmarasu bore the title of "*Dharamavarāha*" and that he was Krishnarāya's own body.<sup>17</sup>

अभवत्पतीपवंशे खंडनो धरणीधराहविहङ्गकर्मठनः ।

सकलप्रधानगुणगौरवोन्नतः सचिवोसहदेह इव सात्वतिर्ममय्यः ।

Mallana in his *Rājasekhara-charitram*, describes the great *Pradhāni* as *Sakala-Karmāṇa-rakṣaśa-vichakṣhaṇa* and Kumārja Dhārjaṭi in his *Krishnarāya-Vijayam* praises that the great statesman has no equals as a minister in the Kṛta, Tṛtīta and Dvāpara Yugas.<sup>18</sup>

In the *Krishnarājuna-Samvādam* of Gōpamantri, the Prime Minister is described as *Śrī Krishnarāya-Samarājyabhāra-dīranandharuṇḍa* and in the commentary on *Prabhadhachandradāya* by the same author, the Prime Minister is described as follows:—<sup>19</sup>

तस्य श्रीकृष्णरायस्व भास्वरान्यदुत्तमः ।

कुलक्रमागतो मन्त्री सात्वतिर्ममचमूपतिः ॥

आपूर्वपद्मिनसमुद्रमपत रात्र्यम् आशेतुमिहगिरि आपतिमप्रतापः ।

यः कृष्णरायनृपपालकदण्डनाथः सौष्टिन्यगोत्रविलसः क्षत्रिपरिजितः ॥

KRISHNARAJARAYA'S IDEAL OF A MINISTER:—It will be interesting to know the picture of an ideal minister conjured up by the Emperor who had probably in his mind the brilliant personality of his own *Mahā Pradhāni* before him, when he sketched the lines of that Imaginary and Illuminative Illustration. We quote below, the translation of the verses given by the late lamented scholar Mr. Rangaswami Sarasvatī, from the Canto IV of of the Emperor-poet's *Amṛtamaṇḍapada* or *Vishvachittiyam*.

P. 207: Entrust your fortresses to such Brahmins (Generals) as you are best acquainted with. Do not keep them weak, but give them such strong forces that they can be devoid of fear from the enemies.

P. 211: If a Brahman is a scholar, who is afraid of *adharm*, who is well-versed in *Rājastī* and who is between the ages of fifty and seventy, who is healthy in body, whose connection with the king has come down from previous generations and who, not conceited, accepts the ministership under a king and looks after his business, would it take more than a day for the *Angas* (constituents of royalty) of such a king to increase?

P. 217: Because a Brahman would stand to his post even in times of danger and would continue in service though reduced to becoming

17 S.I.L., Vol. VI, No. 145.

18 *Rajasekhara-charitram*, Canto 1: *Vide Lines of Telugu Poets* p. 210. *Krishnarāya-vijayam*, Canto 2, Verse 102.

19 *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 145.

a subordinate to Kshatriya or Śūdra, it is always advisable for a king to make Brahmins as his officers—

V. 86f: That king can lay his hand on his breast and sleep peacefully, who appoints as masters of his fortresses such Brahmins as are attached to himself, are learned in many sciences and arts, are addicted to *dharma*, are heroic and have been in his service since before his time, who makes arrangements for storing in those fortresses tigers' cheese? (Tel. *paṭṭanna*) and other articles to last for a generation, who gives to the subordinate chiefs (*śāmantas*) lands and other things without lessening in the slightest degree the arrangement with them, who increases his treasury by multiplying his income and lessening expenditure and by seeing that the people are without trouble, who keeps watch on the territory of weakened enemies by his spies and capturing them suddenly like the crane which catches fish, who sees neither he nor his subjects suffer and who gives trouble only to his enemies.

THE FAMILY OF THE PREMIER.—This biographical sketch of the great Minister will be incomplete without mentioning his family circle. He was a Brahmin of the *Arutala Niyogi* community of the Andhra Brahmins, which gave rise to poets, scholars, soldiers and statesmen of eminence for several centuries in the past. He belonged to the Śālva family.<sup>20</sup> He was the son of Rāchūrāja, or Rācharasa and Nāgamāmba, and grandson of Vāmaya or Vāmarasa, and belonged to the Kauṇḍinya-gōtra, Āpastamba-śūtra and Vajra-śākha. He married Lakshmamma, sister of Nādiṇḍia Timmarāja of Kauṇḍika-gōtra, and gave his sister Kṛishnāmba or Kṛishnamāmba in marriage to Nādiṇḍia Timmayya.<sup>21</sup> He had a younger brother (Gōvindarāja) and three nephews, Kōna, Appa and Gōpa. The power which he wielded during his day could only be imagined when we know the high positions held by his brother, and nephews, in the administration of the Empire. In fact almost all the important posts were monopolised by this particular family group. This was the last occasion in which such positions were held by this particular (the *Arutala-Niyogi*) Brahmin community, for during the time of Achyutarāja and thereafter under the *de facto* ruler Rāmarāja, the Brahmin as a poet, soldier and statesman gradually disappeared from the literary and political arena owing to the lack of patronage.

SALIVA GOVINDARAJA, younger Brother of the Great Minister:

In one of the records it was stated that Gōvindarāja was the elder brother of the Great Minister but according to another he was

<sup>20</sup> Tradition records that Timmarasu and his ancestors belonged to Kondavīdu in Guntur District, and that Timmarasu and his brother Gōvindarāja migrated to south after the death of their father and destruction of the family fortune and resided in poverty for a long time in South India. *Id.*

<sup>21</sup> (a) *Ept. Ind.* Vol. VI, pages 188 to 189 and p. 234. (b) Epigraphical Report, Tirupati Devasthanam, part 2, p. 191.

mentioned as the younger.<sup>22</sup> We believe that he was only the younger. He held important posts from time to time. He was the Governor of Guttī-rājya about 1513 A.D. according to the Tāḍipatrī inscription.<sup>23</sup> He was also called *Mahā-Pradhāna* and *Śīraḥ Pradhāna*. He was also the lord of Terikanambī-sīma in Hoysala-nāḍu.<sup>24</sup> When Paes visited the city of Vijayanagar (about 1510-11 A.D.) he was spoken of as the Governor of the city. He accompanied the Emperor in the expedition against Kāichūr.<sup>25</sup> We also know from another source of epigraphical evidence, that he was transferred from time to time as Governor from one important outpost to another. He was called the minister of Krishnadevarāya and Governor of Padivaikunaḥ including Gundlupet, in a grant dated July 27, 1523 A.D.<sup>26</sup>

APPA AND GŌPA, The Nephews of the Premier.—We learn that the Great Minister had three nephews, Kōṇa, Appa and Gōpa. There is no record to know anything about Kōṇa and we presume that he died early in life, but Appa and Gōpa were the foremost Provincial Governors of the period, holding the key positions and important strategic forts of the time. The nephews belong to another illustrious family of ministers who had served under the Śāluvas and Tuluvas in some capacity or other. The genealogy of the family according to *Rājasekhara-charitram*, *Krishnārjuna-Saṁvādam* and *Prabodha-chandrodaya-Vyākhyāna* is given at the end of this study, to show how this family is linked with the family of the great Śāluva Timmarasu. Tirumalāmba, the elder daughter of Timmarasu was married to Appa-mātri, and Gōpa was the younger son-in-law of Timmarasu. Appa and Gōpa would appear to have served one after another, as Governors of Kondavidu soon after it was captured from the Gajapati king.<sup>27</sup>

From the *Rājasekhara-charitram* we learn that Gōpa was Governor of Guttī for sometime and that post he must have held before was transferred to Kondavidu. The Mangalagiri record says that Appa obtained from Krishnadevarāya and the minister Timmarasu, the posts of Commander-in-Chief of the army, of the Superintendent of Vinukonda, Guttī, and Amarāvati forts and the sole Governorship of that Kingdom.

*Rājasekhara-charitram* was dedicated to Appa. Gōpa would appear to be a scholar, and the author of the poem, *Krishnārjuna-Saṁvādam* and a commentary on *Prabodha-chandrodayam*. It is

22 No. 126 of 1818 of the Madras Epigraphical Collections. Tirupati Devasthanam. Epigraphical Report, p. 128.

23 S.I.I., Vol. 4, No. 200.

24 Ep. Carn., Vol. IV. Introduction, p. 28. Arch. Surv. Rep. 1908-09 p. 185.

25 A Forgotten Empire, pages 284 and 327.

26 Mysore Arch. Rep., 1934, p. 125. Mysore Arch. Rep., 1930, p. 182.

27 Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 112.



evident that these two brothers owed their elevation in the service of the State, to the favour of the Premier, their uncle and father-in-law.

THE ATTACK ON THE PORTUGUESE AND THE REVERSES:—The relations of Krishnādēvarāya with the Portuguese were almost cordial and we know that the Emperor extended a warm welcome to the successive Portuguese Governors of Goa, in the city of Vijayanagar. Their help was sought in the Battle of Rāichūr, and the best horses for the Vijayanagar cavalry were supplied by the Portuguese. While this was the friendly intercourse between the Hindu Empire and the Portuguese power, Sewell quoted the authority of Baros and stated in his monumental work that about 1523 A.D., Timmarasu invaded the main lands, near Goa, which had been occupied by Ruy De Nello, and that he advanced towards Parda with a small force, but he was attacked and driven back. This reverse of the Prime Minister who was also the Generalissimo of the forces of the Empire on the battle field was perhaps the commencement of his misfortunes.<sup>28</sup>

SALIVA TIMMA-DANDANATHA AS A SCHOLAR:—He was reputed scholar who wrote the commentary on Agastya's *Chandā-Bharatam*. In the colophon of the commentary, he called himself, 'Sri Krishnaraya Śiraś-Pradhāna, and Sakalāgama-pārēśrapārtya'.<sup>29</sup>

TRAGIC END:—The evening of the career of this great personage, was shrouded in mystery, and a curtain though not impenetrable veils the last act in the drama of his life. It is almost common with the lives of great men, that fortune turns its back on them at the far end of their lives, and they had either to be behind the bars of prison, ascend the scaffold, assassinated or humiliated. Mary, queen of Scots roamed from prison to prison. Charles I was beheaded. Bismarck was driven away from office "like a dog." The lamentable life of Napoleon at St. Helena was well-known. Abraham Lincoln was shot dead in the midst of a play. Akkasa and Mādasa, the celebrated Hindu ministers at the court of Gōlconḍa were dragged alive in the streets of that city. Instances may be multiplied, and Sālva Timmarasu fared no better if we believe Nuniz. History repeated itself. What happened at the commencement of the reign of Krishnādēvarāya, took place at the close of it. The events were quite similar, and we give the story from Nuniz and put down the painful pen.

Krishnādēvarāya had a son, Tīrumala, aged six years. The Emperor wanted to retire and abdicate in favour of the young prince and instal him on the throne. Timmarasu was as usual made the counsellor of the state and one of the sons of the Prime Minister was given a high position in the administration. Unfortunately the young prince suddenly

<sup>28</sup> *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 155.

<sup>29</sup> *Sources of Vijayanagar History* p. 143.

died of a sickness not known, and the Emperor was informed that the son of the Prime Minister poisoned the prince. He believed it, and summoned the Premier, his son, and brother Govindarāja, and then informed them how Timmarasu had deceived Virā Narasimharāja and elevated him (Kṛishṇarāja) to the throne, and how he could believe that the same mischief could have been perpetrated by them now in the case of his son as they were capable of doing anything. The king imprisoned them but the son of Timmarasu was stated to have escaped from prison and rebelled against the Emperor. But soon after, he was captured and the Emperor being enraged against the conduct of these persons ordered of their eyes to be put out and to confine them in the prison.

It was not known what happened to these unfortunate persons. But there is epigraphical evidence to show that Timmarasu and Govindarāja continued to serve under Achyutarāja, the brother of Kṛishṇadevarāja. Fortunately, Nuzir, did not inform us that these illustrious brothers died in prison and therefore it would be appear that they were restored and elevated to their former positions, after Achyutarāja ascended the throne. Numerous inscriptions are quoted to demonstrate that these two brothers bestowed various gifts on temples during the time of Achyutarāja. It is believed therefore, that these two brothers survived to the end of 1535 and 1541 A.D. respectively, the last dates of inscriptions of Timmarasu and Govindarāja, respectively available so far.<sup>30</sup>

30 *Tirupati Devasthanam Epigraphical Report*, pages 294 and 297.

SĀLUVA & NĀDINDLA FAMILIES.



## KANDYAM PLATES OF DANARNAYA.

Dated in S. S. 892.

MANDA NARASIMHAM

These plates were discovered about three years ago lying buried in the village of Kandyam, about twenty miles from Chicacole in Vizagapatnam district. When the plates were taken out of the earth, the right right half of the fourth plate was so entirely corroded with rust that it soon crumbled to pieces. The first and fourth plates appeared to contain traces of another inscription which was beaten out to make the surface smooth so as to receive the present inscription. The plates appeared to have been beaten or cut to match with the other plates. I am thankful to Mr. G. Ramamurti Naidu of Kandyam for giving these plates and enabling me to publish the inscription engraved upon them. The plates are five in number; they are strug together by means of a solid copper ring, the ends of which were secured under the royal seal. The plates, together with the ring and the seal, weigh 384 tolas; the ring and the seal alone weigh 164 tolas. The diameter of the seal is three inches. The seal contains the figure of the *varaha* (Wild Boar) facing to the proper right. In front of the boar is an *ambusa* 'elephant god' and behind it is the crescent. On the top of the seal there is the symbol of the sun. Beneath the boar is the legend *Śrī Trībhuvanāmbukā* in bold Chālukyan characters. Below the legend is an expanded lotus flower, and on the either side of it are two *chāmara* or 'chowries'. Of the five plates, the first and the last have raised rims on one side alone while the remaining plates have their rims raised on all sides. The plates measure 9½" by 4½". The first plate has no writing on the outer side but the rest bear writing on both sides.

The writing on the plate is fairly well preserved and the scribe seems to have a good settled round hand. But there are many errors and omissions. The alphabet employed is old Telugu known as Vengi script and resembles that of the Pāmulavāka copper-plate grant of Anma II. The language employed is Sanskrit and the inscription is partly in prose and partly in poetry.

The inscription relates to a grant made by king Dāśārjaya who bore a second name Chālukya Bhīma-2 Dāśārjaya was the eldest son of Chālukya Bhīma II, born to his queen Ankidēvi or Ankimahādēvi. He

1 JAHNS, Vol.

2 This view is extremely doubtful. The text does not seem to bear out this meaning. Ed.

succeeded to the throne of Vēngi after the death of his half-brother, Amma II, in Ś. S. 892 expired or 970 A.D. Dānārnava is called in the record Dānapa or Dānapēśa.

The inscription opens with an invocation or prayer to the dgo Śiva. Then follows the usual preamble of the Eastern Chālukya records containing the genealogical account of the kings from Kubja Vishnupardhana, younger brother of Saṃvādaya Vallabha, down to Ammarāja II. On the death of Ammarāja II, his elder half-brother Dānapa or Dānapēśa or Dānārnava came to the throne. "Dānārnava was the eldest son of king Śrīhād-Bhīma, or Chalukya Bhīma II by his first wife. He possessed great strength; defeated the armies of his foes, became the king of the kingdom of Vēngi and reigned over it with great ability. The earth (meaning the kingdom) was fortunate in having him as the king for he administered law according to justice. He was learned in all sciences and arts. He was a descendant of the great king Kali Vishnu; his mother was Urjaspāya who was a daughter of the king of Kalinga. He assumed the second name Bhīma when he ascended the throne.<sup>3</sup> His chest was broad like a doorway, his arms were strong and long. He became the abode of the dharma of Kṣatriyahood. He was justice incarnate; he was the beloved of the people. He was the master of the Ethics of State (akṣhī-rāja-vidyā). He studied all the *śāstras* from his childhood. He was learned..... In the Śaka year 892 (*dui-nava-vamsa*).....(here month and *pakṣa* of the month are lost on the broken plate).....on Thursday the 8th day, at an auspicious moment, having offered oblations to the manes of ancestors, kinsmen and the gods, king Dānārnava ascended the throne under the name, the glorious Vishnupardhana Mahārājādhirāja. He was Paramēśvara.....worshipper of the feet of the parents, in the presence of his *Mantri*, *Parohit*, *Śrīnāpāt*,.....having assembled the inhabitants and Rāstrakūṭa chiefs of the district of Pottappi-nāṇḍa commanded them.....There was a prince.....born in the illustrious, spotless and renowned *Mudugouḍa Chālukya* lineage, who acquired a kingdom by conquest. His son was Smarāt(?) who destroyed his enemies by the force of fierce valour. His wife was Pērakārbha, the pious, just and devoted to doing good to the people. She was the mother of several sons. Among them, Mallana and Goḍḍiya have become celebrated all over the world. To these two princes, Mallana and Goḍḍiya, who have enriched my Treasury and thereby pleased Us, We have bestowed in our royal pleasure two sparkling white large parasols, royal robes, the war drum, the *stombla*, the *śīlet*, large white silk tents with poles, elephants and all the insignia of feudatory chieftains (*śāmantā*) along with the rulership of of the district known as Pottapi-nāṇḍa vishaya 300 (*tri-sata*),

3 See note 2 above. Ed.

having exempted it from all burdens of taxation. The boundaries of the district are, be it known, 'on the east the river called Pampavāḍi (Pampāvali), on the south Uttara varasa or 'the Northern Range', on the west Minuthāka-nāḍu and on the north Vedaguna-ḍebbadi or Veḍuguna 70 district. This grant shall last as long as the moon, stars and earth and the Eight Great Mountains endure. The Yuvarāja (crown prince) shall protect and enforce this gift with the aid of 2032 soldiers and elephant-keepers.<sup>4</sup> Any person who molests this gift becomes one who has committed the five great sins".....Then follow the usual imprecatory śloka attributed to Vyāsa, an appeal to future kings of his house and the land to protect the gift from any molestation, and a curse to the effect that whosoever molested or appropriated the grant either partly or wholly, would be born as a dog who ate what had been vomited by others.

The executor of the royal command was the officer Katakārāja. The poetry of the grant was composed by Nāgambhatta. The charter was engraved on the plates by the scribe Jotachārya".

The Mudugonda Chālukya line of vassal kings are mentioned in this record. This family is not altogether unknown to our scholars. The Mudugonda Chālukyas hail apparently from the south. Though we do not know the complete genealogy of this southern line of kings, we know for certain that they occupied a subordinate position in the latter part of the tenth century A.D. The existence of the Mudugonda Chālukya line of kings was first brought to light by the publication of a copper-plate grant of Kuṣumayudha IV by the Rev. C. BENDAL, M.A., M.B.A.S., in the *Indian Antiquary* in 1901. That was found in the Treasury of H. E. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad. Kuṣumayudha's grant gives the following pedigree of the Mudugonda Chālukya line of kings.

4. The passage does not seem to have properly translated or explained here. See the text lines 61-63. The passage seems to mean that the *gauraja*, who is the commander of the Elephant Troop unit of 2032 elephants and soldiers, shall enforce and protect the grant. The *gauraja* here seems to be a dignitary. It appears to be a high dignity conferred upon some distinguished officer in the king's army under the Eastern Chālukyas and had not perhaps anything to do with the real *gauraja* or heir-apparent. Compare for instance a similar passage which appears in a grant of Amma II (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 139f. text line 28) which runs as follows:—*Paṭṭavarḍhanīyāḥ Pammavāḍīyāḥ sūriyā Yuvarāja-Ballāḍīyā Vṛkṣabhaḍīyā Bhoḍīyānāḍīyā etc.* Compare also with another similar passage in another grant of Amma II (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 248, lines 86-96) where the *gauraja* was appointed to protect the grant. Here in the passage:—*Esāyā rakṣakāḥ Urubastubhaya-gaṇa sahaara-ḍaitayā kalvapākāḥ (?) Vumāchāshu patayāḥ ballāka pēmbha chātra Vāḍbhataḥ*. Prince Vāḍbhata mentioned in these two grants would appear to be one and the same person. He was called Yuvaraja Ballāḍīyā Vṛkṣabhaḍīyā, son of Pammava of the Paṭṭavarḍhani lineage in the former and commander of 2000 Elephant troop who possessed a white parrot in the latter. *Ed.*



*Medugonda Chālukya line of Kings*

This record does not give the date when Kusumāyudha IV had bestowed the grant, nor does it give the regnal years of the previous kings. These kings trace their descent from Kōki Rāja who appears to be the founder of the line. This Kōki Rāja might perhaps be Kōkili or Kōkkili, the third son of Mangi Yuvarāja of the Eastern Chālukya family. Kōkili ruled over the Vēngi country for  $\frac{1}{2}$  year. He was then expelled from the country by his brother Vishnavardhana II. This fact is clearly stated in almost all the Eastern Chālukya grants. After being driven out from the Vēngi Country, Kōkili must have gone forth in quest of establishing a kingdom for himself.

It was in these troublous times that Kōkili of the Eastern Chālukya line must have gone forth south in quest of establishing a new kingdom; and in fact he did succeed in founding one. The genealogy of this line of Kings, as stated above, is traced from Kōkirāja. Since we have little hesitation in identifying this Kōkirāja as the Kōkkili of the Eastern Chālukya line, there is not much difficulty in roughly fixing the date of Kusumāyudha IV, the donor of the Medugonda grant. We know that Kōkili was driven away from the Vēngi throne in A. D. 713-14. If this Kōkili had established a kingdom at Medugonda in or about A. D. 714, taking on the average 30 years rule for each generation from Kōkili to Kusumāyudha IV, we get roughly 250 years. Hence Kusumāyudha IV must have been ruling in or about A. D. 965.

Our present record mentions that king Dārnava gave away the district of 300 villages to two princes of the Medugonda-Chālukya family.

The donor explicitly says that they got the kingdom by conquering it. (*ijitaprāpiṣa Vaiśudhārā*) Hence we may believe that the two princes Malliya and Gōḍḍiya had rendered great help to the donor in the fight with Bādapa for regaining the throne. The grant was given at the time of the King's coronation which took place in A.D. 970. These princes, we gather from the plates, were the sons of Pūrakāmba and that their father was Smara. This Smara we may identify with Kusumāyudha IV in the donor of the copper plate grant referred to above.

LOCATION OF MUDUGONDA:— The inscription clearly states that the king granted these 300 villages to the two princes in their own district of Pottapi-nāḍu. In describing the boundaries, the river Pampāvati is stated to be on the east, Mīcumbāka nāḍu on the west and Uṭṭara-varuṣa (apparently a mountain range on the south). Pampa of the Ramayana fame is none else than Hampi in the Bellary District. Hence the river Pampavati must be a stream flowing into or near the lake of the same name. Another strong suspicion is in favour of Mudugonda being in the modern Bellary district is the fact that Mr. Bendal has discovered his plates in the Domains of H. E. H. the Nizam. Moreover, this Pottapi nāḍu is stated in the present record, as the country of 300 villages and as the great Āndhra poet Dhūrjaṭi of the 15th century mentioned *Pottapi-nāḍu* in his *Kāśikasthānamāhātmyamu*, as the home of the forester Salet Tinnadu and located it in the Ceded Districts, I am of opinion that Mudugonda and Pottapi nāḍu lay in the Ceded Districts.

### Text 1

#### First Plate: Second Side.

1. [Om\*]<sup>2</sup> Lakṣmīn-tanōru-jagatām kṣāgalasya = Śruga (divyōjya)is  
jāyō[ṭā]ta au-
2. ranadī-kuhara-kambukar = āṇjala-nikara iva bhūti || Svasti Śrīmatūn  
sakala-lho-
3. vana-saṁsṭhyamāna-Mānavyasagōtrānām Hārīputrānām Kauśiki-  
vara-prasāda-
4. labdha-rājyānām-Mairgapa-paripālīnām Svāmī-Mahāśāhapādānu-
5. dhātūnām Bhagavān-Narayana-prasāda samśāhṛita-vara-varūha  
lāṅgha-
6. n = Śekhamaṇa-khaṇa-vaṭikṛ = āvṛti-maṇḍalānām Aśvamōḍh =  
āvabhṛta-saṁsa-pavitrīkṛ-

1 From the original plates.

2 This is expressed by a symbol.

7. ta-vapushām Chākyānān kulam = alarhārshpōs-Satyāśraya-  
vallabhēndrasya-bhrātā || Śrī-  
8. pari-vikramēn = ādya Darjyād bali-ōdarām āhṛty = ashtā dasābdāni  
Kubja Vishnu-

*Second Plate: First Side.*

9. rapād-īmam | Tad = ātmaṃ Jayasirbhās-trayastrīṃśat | Tad-anuj =  
Eendrarāja-nandanō Vi-  
10. shpūvardhanō naya | Tat-sūnur-Mmaṅgi-javarājah pañchavīṃśat |  
Tat-putrō Jayasirbhās-tra-  
11. yūdada | Tad-avaśājah Kōkīl-shagmāsān | Tasya jyēshthō  
bhrātā Vishnūvardhanaś-tam = ukchāṭya sapta-  
12. trīṃśat | Tat-putrō-Vijayāditya-bhāṭṭārakō-abhīśada | Tat-sutō  
Vishnūvardhanaś-cha-tri-  
13. ṃśat | Tat-sūnur bhīṣe-bhīṣō raga vigrahanayā nīlakaṭh-  
āyānān sa-grām = ā  
14. rāmakanath salīlata-ramaṇam sadupadānām kṛtvā prōttangam =  
asht = ōttara-dātam = abhūnag-vi-  
15. ra dhīr = āśhīta-yuktas chatvērīṃśat-samāh kāmārū jananuta  
Vijayāditya-nāmā nārēndrah | Tat-putrō  
16. Kali-Vishnūvardhanō = dhyarddha-varahad | Tat-priya tanayah |  
Abdūt saṅgrāma-raṅgē nija-lasa-

*Second Plate: Second Side.*

17. dāśiṇā Mangi-raj = ōttamāngarū tuṅgāchē śrōgam = urvyām-  
asa(ni\*) riva mudā pāta yat-Kaonarānkarū nīśā-  
18. chkarū Sachkīlōsa pradrita janapadād-durggam = ānnirgga  
mayya-drūgūhā vath yath pravēṣya(b) prabhur-abhaya  
19. manām(b)pratyapad-Baddhagāṅkam | Sa Śīmūn Vijayāditya-  
bhūpatē bhrāturbhīṣa-saha chatvō-  
20. rīṃśat-samās-ārdhām chatubbir-abhūnak-bhuvam | Tat-bhrātur-  
Vikramāditya-bhūpatē-sa-  
21. ch chamupatē vilasat-kapthikādāna kapthasya tanuyō nayi |  
Din = ānāth = ātura-  
22. pām dvija-vara-samitēr = yāchakānā(ch) yatloām nānādēś =  
āgatānā(ch) putra-vara-nata-saṅ gāya-  
23. kāmān kavīnān bandhuvān andhakānān abāllashitaphala  
śāṅgānād-rakṣanadyō mā-  
24. tūvat = trīṃśad-abdhām bhuvam = abhūnaga san chāru-Chālo(kya\*)  
Bhīm || Tat-putrō sya-bhuj = āi-khāpita-

*Third Hole: First Side.*

25. rīpu-kṣemābhṛd-baḥād Vāsaviṃ jītvā sām Virajē praśiṣṭhita  
jayastambhah( | \*) prāśiṣṭhito rapō svarṇāṁ-  
26. dha tulōra buddham—atuō-dhāri-taḥ | kahatriya(r)mmitrābhah  
pari-rakṣati sma Vijayāditya-  
27. s-sam—ārdhāṁ varāṁ | Tasy—mātsajah praxata vaiśi-śirō-  
vilagna-ratna-dvirōpha-parichurhita-pāda-padmaḥ  
28. Mērum kṣaṁstulita-bhāka-rāṣi bhāṣā varabhūgi sapta sam-  
apād-bhuvam Ammarā-  
29. jah | Tat sutam Vijayādityam bhālam—ochchātya-ḥḥayā Kō(Tē)  
lādhi-patir—ākra-  
30. mya māmam—dākam—apād-bhuvam | Tada jītvā yudhi Chājuykya  
Bhīma-bhūmi-paṭa-sutah Vikra-  
31. māditya-bhūpō—pān-māśa—śāśāśa kṣhīṁ | Tatas-Tāpa-  
rājasya sūna-śar-a vā  
32. kprabhut Vaddhimala-dāśrādāśā sapta varabhūgi—apād-bhuvam |  
Nirjīty—Ārjuna sūnibhō jayapa-

*Third Hole: Second Side.*

33. dāt-ian-virgamay—ōddhaṭṭam cāyādā—(nabhānu-ḥḥa-bhagoṇ—  
ākārām vidhāy—śāśāśa | Val—iv-ōrji-  
34. ta-sākam—Ammarāja upaiōr-bhūṣā kaniyā-bhuvam Bhīmō  
bhīma-parākrama-samabbhūnak samvatsarān-dvā-  
35. dāśa || Tat-sūna-Ammarāj—ōpā dharmā-parah pañchvidhāti  
cha samah rājyam chakāra terppitē  
36. viprajanō vijita-vairir-ajita-kīrtih || Dvā-mātura-sasya cha  
Dhāpāśa jyēshthō mahad-bhū-  
37. ri-bhūjair-jītvā(b\*) | Śrīmān sa-vēḥgi-viśayādhipō-bhūc—  
api kṣhīṁ śāśāti satya-dhanyah(vān) ||  
38. Sūnō Brhad-Bhīma-mahābhujasya āptah kalāvīt-Kali-Vishou  
nāmā sūnō Kalingāśvara sat-sutāya(h)  
39. Bhīmādhipō bhūdvaram—ōrjapāyāśā | kavāṭa-vakṣhōdrdha-  
dīrgha-bāhuh kṣātra svakarmma kṣamām—āśri  
40. tōvat( | \*) dharmasyā(m) dāham-ihōr-kīrtir-virājatē bhūjana  
vatsalāya | Bālyādhi vira-dharm-a-

KANDIVAM PLATES OF DANARNAVA  
*Third Plate, Second Side*



*Fourth Plate, First Side*



*Fourth Plate, Second Side*



*Fourth Plate: First Side (broken plate).*

41. khila rāja-vidyāvidya-vid—ācharama—śaṅkṣyī nyāyē.....  
 42. ya vikhyātim—upagāḥ paḥ | Śākṣe sarvatsarvaugbḥ dvi-nava  
 vasi.....  
 43. śāṅkṣyāḥ Surāṅkṣāḥ Gura-divasḥ sannukhūrte mahōjah  
 dāyānā.....  
 44. tish tarppaviteṇ yadāśāntam śimān Chālukya Bhīma  
 kshil.....  
 45. nām ī Tyāgō yasya mahipatē—agapita.....  
 46. darppa-machanath śaury—audārya stuta.....  
 47. bhūpatī-Śrīmachchāra Chālukya Bhīmānra.....  
 48. Śrī V i s a ṇ u v a r d h a n a mahārājādhirāja para-  
 māsvara.....

*Fourth Plate: Second Side (broken plate).*

49. tā-plir-pādanudyāḥ Mantri-parōhita—śaṅkṣā.....  
 50. P o t t a p i - n ā ṇ ḍ u viśaya nivāsinō rashtarakṣa-pra.....  
 51. M u d u g o ḍ a - C h ā | u k y a - r a m ā j - n y a ḥ pradhī—āmala  
 52. jita-prāpta—varuṇadharāyāḥ ī Tad—astmaḥ.....  
 53. dhīmān vasūm nīḥjā bhūra(r)ātrub pāra-padaḥ kshatragu.....  
 54. Pūrakābhā bhāryā—marahita-kāṇi sarvā dharmāddharmya.....  
 55. ta bahu-śurō śma(Śma)raputtāḥ ī Tayō—udāḥ para-dāra-  
 dādharaḥ śāṅkṣ.....  
 56. dhikō Mallana-Gondīkbyō jagaty—āmashmin-prdhīō cha tēshu  
 yō.....

*Fifth Plate: First Side.*

57. dvē vaniḥ chā bhadrāṇi tāpani—ūjala-yata rochirachchatra  
 yugm—ōru-vastram bhārāḥ cha śāṅkṣā-bandhāḥ śita-pa-  
 58. tavṛta śaḍ-bhūri viśāraśāṅkṣyāḥ te dvi<sup>4</sup> samasta kshatipa  
 gadita chinchāni ch- āsamabbir eva (ī) Tābhāḥ Ma-  
 59. Illyarāja Goṇḍia rājabhāṇi bhavad-viśayē P o t t a p i -  
 n ā ṇ ḍ u — t r i - ś a t a m ā s r a n i k ṛ t y a ( k ṛ t ā ) s a r v a k a r i - p a r i -  
 60. hāram tat-kōśa-paritushatir—samābhār-dāttam—iti viditam—  
 asturāḥ<sup>5</sup> Aśvādhyāḥ pūrvataḥ Patā

4. Read "prāptah prādyat".





*Fifth Plate, First Side*



*Fifth Plate, Second Side*



Scale 1/2

## CHARLES PHILIP BROWN—A SURVEY OF HIS SERVICES

### To South Indian History and Telugu Literature

Prof. RAO SAHEB C. S. SRINIVASACHARI, M.A.,  
*Andamalai University.*

Mr. Charles Philip Brown was one of the famous band of scholar researchers that the East India Company's servants furnished for the promotion of Indian Culture. He was in the Madras Civil Service from 1817 to 1855 and eventually became Post Master General of that Presidency. In 1866 he printed *Some Account of the Literary Life of Charles Philip Brown*, and later became Honorary Professor of Telugu in the University of London. From one point of view, Brown was one of remarkable trio of scholars comprehended by Colin Mackenzie, John Leyden and himself. All the three of them acted to the full truth and the real spirit of the dictum laid down by the Rev. W. Taylor in his comprehensive Catalogue Raisonné of *Oriental Manuscripts in the Library of the (late) College Fort St. George. (3 vols. Madras, 1857)*. Therein Taylor declared thus—“The absolute non-existence of historical records and our not being acquainted with such as do exist are quite different propositions. It is best to suspend a judgment on the former point until positively certain that all possible ‘materials have been thoroughly sifted, and found to yield dust and no diamonds.’” Brown and his fellow-scholars were staunch evidences of the truth of this statement.

Brown rose to be a very ardent student of Telugu and to be one of the instruments of its modernisation. Besides his services to Telugu literature and language and to the accumulation and publication of historical and quasi-historical material concerning South India, it may be noted that he was interested in the accumulation of manuscripts. The valuable collection of manuscripts in the Indian languages made by John Leyden, a collaborator with W. Erskine in the translation of the famous *Memoirs of Bader*, was purchased by the East India Company on his death. Mr. Brown catalogued these manuscripts which numbered 2106.<sup>1</sup> John Leyden's Indian career began in 1803, included a residence at Penang which enabled him to inquire into the peculiarities of the Malay race and ended very prematurely in 1811. Mr. Brown prepared descriptive lists of the Leyden Manuscripts in Sanskrit, Telugu, Tamil, Malayalam and Canarese. He was instrumental in unearthing them from the India

1 Page 97, *Journal of the Madras Literary Society* 1847.

House Library in 1837 whose whole store of manuscripts, in Tamil, Telugu and Canarese, he got transferred to the Madras Literary Society in 1844. On completing these lists, Brown added his own large library of manuscripts to the Madras collection. His munificent donation was warmly acknowledged by the Madras Literary Society in a vote of thanks printed on p. 202 of their Journal for 1847.<sup>2</sup>

Brown's collection was thus almost entirely in the Telugu character. More than one half of the manuscripts were in the Sanskrit language but in Telugu characters, and the remainder mostly in Telugu. The Rev. W. Taylor says that though Brown was distinguished by his attainments in nearly every other language of India, whether vernacular or classical, he was particularly attached to the study of Telugu, the best years of his official life were passed in the Telugu districts and he was the first who "applied himself to a thorough examination of its literature and if others shall hereafterwards be enabled to follow his example, it will be only by the light of those aids which he has left for their guidance." "Mr. Taylor has given us two lists of works published by Brown either as author or editor, a perusal of which will convey some slight conception of the nature and extent of his labours." This list should be used as a reference in the following account of the Brown MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Brown's Collection has been catalogued by that eminent scholar himself on the same plan as was adopted by him with 'West India House' Collection. On the authority of the entry in the *Madras Literary Journal* above referred to, it comprises 2,440 MSS. and it is, *pro tanto*, the richest of the three.

Language	Character	No. of MSS.
Sanskrit	Telugu	1,972
"	Devanagari	16
"	Malayalam	5
"	Bengali	0
Telugu	Telugu	1,116
Canarese	Canarese	19
Malayalam	Malayalam	3
Burmese	Burmese	4

Total MSS. 2,440

To this donation Mr. Brown was continually making additions up to the date of his departure for England, in 1855. p. xxi of the introduction to the *Catalogue Raisonné of the Oriental Manuscripts*—Vol. I, 1857.

<sup>3</sup> This collection, as described by Taylor in 1857 can be very usefully compared with the classified description of the Brown MSS. in the India Office Library as given by G. H. Kays in *India Office Library Catalogue of MSS. in European Languages, Volume II, Part II. Miscellaneous Collections and Miscellaneous Manuscripts, Sec. I. Nos. 1-482 (1887, London)* pp 194-22 and items 431-473. The writer of this paper has greatly utilized this book and the works of Taylor and Wilson. See also his paper—Robert Prime and Colin Mackenzie, Two Early Collections of MSS. and Records—Report of the I.H.R. Commission, 6th Session, Madras.

LIST NO. I OF W. TAYLOR.

- "A Grammar of the Telugu language;" first edition, 1840 and a second edition entirely rewritten and much extended.
- English—Telugu Dictionary — 1100 pages royal 8vo.
- Telugu—English Dictionary; of the same size, and in 1300 pages.
- Dictionary of mixed Telugu and the language used in business. 130 pages.
- This work has since been corrected and greatly enlarged in preparation for republication.
- Telugu and English Dialogues; and a second edition of the same: with Grammatical analysis. These Dialogues have also been printed in Tamil and in Kannali.
- English Irregular verbs, explained in Telugu. The same in Tamil, The Vākyāvali; or exercises in English idioms: translated into Telugu. Also in Tamil, and Dakhni Hindustani.
- Telugu Disputations on (Mirāvi) Village business: a record written about A.D. 1762—1790; with an English translation.
- The Wars of the Rājās; being a record of occurrences in the Bellari District, about the year A. D. 1750.
- The Tarachari Tales; a collection of popular stories; including a portion of the "History of Hyder".
- The verses of Vāmāna; with an English translation; printed in 1820. Several editions have since been printed without the translation.
- The prosody of the Telugu and Sanskrit languages explained, 1827.
- An analysis of Sanskrit prosody, printed in the English character, London 1827.
- Essay on Telugu literature; in two parts: printed in the Madras Literary Journal.
- Cyclic Tables of Hindu and Mussalman Chronology. (Mr. Brown refers to this valuable compendium, as the work that cost him most pains next to his Grammar.)
- An Ephemeris, showing the corresponding dates according to the English, Telugu, Tamil Malayalam and Mahomedan computations from A.D. 1751 to 1850, with a chronological table of events. Pages 600.
- Memoirs of Hyder Ali and his son Tippon: translated into English from the Mahraita.
- Various volumes translated into Telugu for Educational Societies,

## LIST NO. II, (BEING NEW EDITIONS WITH IMPROVEMENTS)

Three Treatises on Mirasi Right: by Mr. Ellis, Col. Blackburne and Sir Thomas Munro.

The Proverbs of Solomon and the Book of Psalms in Sanskrit metre, reprinted from the Calcutta Edition, in the Telugu character.

The Tale of Nala in Telugu (Dwipada) couplets,

The Tale of Harischandra in Telugu couplets,

The Gajendra Moksham, in Telugu metres.

The Kuchelopakhyanam in mixed metres.

The Garudachalam in Telugu musical metres,

The Manu Charitra, a classical poem with commentary in Telugu.

The Vasu Charitra, do. do.

The Tales of Nala and Savitri in Sanskrit, being extracts from the Mahabharat.

"There also remain not yet printed:—

The Hitopadesa in Sanskrit, with a Telugu commentary.

The Pancha Tantram, with a Telugu commentary.

The Kalyani Sauda (Poems of Sauda) in Hindustani: the only complete edition ever prepared: with a commentary written in Hindustani".

Above all, a Telugu version of the Holy Scripture (the special works of twenty years) has been completed. Also a version of the Apocryphal books. And a Telugu Translation of the book of Common Prayer.

These last three, it is believed, were presented by Mr. Brown to the local Committee of the Gospel Society.

As soon as the East India House and other collections were entrusted to its custody, the Madras Literary Society notified to the Government of the accession of the Brown manuscripts to their collection and they requested also that a small establishment might be permitted to them for the care of Oriental Library thus accumulated. Government sanctioned their request, but at the same time required that they might be furnished with a Catalogue Raisonné of the contents of the East India House and Brown Collection, similar in character to Prof. Wilson's *Catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection*, published in 1835. The Literary Society replied that the preparation of such a catalogue would be beyond their means as it would require the maintenance of a special staff of Pandits and Copyists. They also suggested that Government might bear this outlay and that the whole of the manuscript collections might be transferred to the Fort St. George College Board, which was



thereupon directed to accept the charge. The court of Directors sanctioned the proposals only requiring quarterly reports on the progress of the work of compilation of the catalogues. Mr. Brown was first offered the task of supervising the formation of the catalogues but being then much occupied with the preparation of his Telugu dictionaries,<sup>5</sup> he declined the task, which was then undertaken by another distinguished scholar-civilian Mr. (later Sir) Walter Elliot. The latter could not, however, fulfil the task on account of the pressure of other duties; and after some time (i. e., in 1852) Mr. Brown, more at leisure, offered his services and promised to bring the work to a conclusion in three years; but as he was then Post Master General, the Court of Directors would not consent to burden him with this additional task. Thereupon the Rev. W. Taylor was nominated as the editor of the catalogues.

The connection of Mr. Brown with the formation and accumulation of the Oriental Manuscripts Library of the Government of Madras and his zeal in his planning a comprehensive catalogue of them should show the reader what his interest in preserving the gathered records of Indian scholarship was.

## II.

The so-called C. P. Brown MSS., that are now in the India Office Library contain 52 items of which 29 are MSS. and 23 are printed volumes copiously annotated by Brown himself. Of the printed volumes, 17 were published by Brown himself.<sup>6</sup> These books and added material may be studied in section A—Grammar.

### A. TELUGU GRAMMAR.

Of the Telugu grammars which form ten volumes of the collection, we read the following interesting items from the notes prepared on this section of the Indian Office Records by G. R. Kaye:

*MSS. Eur. D. 187—8.* 32 × 20 cm. 2 vols. pp. 466, 464, including 100 blank pages.

A Telugu Grammar. By Charles Philip Brown... Second Edition 1847. On the inside of the cover is written, "I originally planned this grammar in 1818... It was ultimately framed and completed in England in the year 1837. It was rejected by the College in 1838. It was printed in 1840. It was revised in 1841, retranscribed in 1843. Then again in 1847 in the present two volumes."

"*MSS. Eur. B. 57.* 31 × 13 cm. pp. vi, 186 print; interleaved and 12 leaves added at each end.

<sup>5</sup> Noticed below.

<sup>6</sup> pp. 1043—63, *European Manuscripts in the India Office Library*, Vol. II, Part II. *Minor Collections and Miscellaneous MSS.* Kaye and Johnston, Sec. 1, Nos. 1—58. Kaye. H. M. Stationary Office—referred to above.

A Grammar of the Telugu Language. By W. Carey, D. D... Serampore... 1814.

There are many notes by Brown. On page iii he writes; "The Grammar is deplorable. It is wrong on every page"; and at the end he adds, "I had not looked into Carey's Grammar for thirty years when this copy fell into my hands. The book is worse than I imagined. Some may fancy my remarks splenetic and disrespectful. All who know Telugu will see my castigations are not groundless..."

"MSS. Eur. B. 58. 21 \* 13 cm. pp. 88 print.

A short Grammar of the Telugu Language in which the Roman Telugu character is used. Prepared by M. Lakshminarasayya .... No. 11, Madras Engineering College papers... Madras, 1860.

Copy presented by the author to C. P. Brown. There are some MS. notes by Brown, for example, on page 5: "This is one of those short cuts to learning which end in a ditch. The book shows that a native who has been years teaching Telugu is unable to explain its grammar."

#### B. GLOSSARY.

Regarding Wilson's *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms* etc., first published in 1817,<sup>1</sup> Mr. Brown prepared a new edition, the MSS. of which is classified 413- Minor Collections, MSS. Eur. C.60-61. Brown's remarks on Wilson on this book are interesting. "Brown writes (opposite page 2), 'Wilson too often tries to derive a Tamil or a Telugu words from a Sanscrit root. That book I hope will be reprinted, with some additions copied from Wilson's Glossary of which one half is labour wasted... Yet Brahmans usually assert that all the languages in the world spring from Sanscrit; and Wilson bows to the Brahmans. The additions I have made are numerous; but I have erased so many useless words (particularly the cant or gibberish used among the Thags) that the volume, if reprinted, will be smaller than it was when first printed... In the India House Library there is Prof. Wilson's own copy of this book, interleaved, with additions in the author's handwriting. I found none worth transcribing."

There is a letter from R. Rost to Brown of 10th December 1880 (471, 11) which indicates that the printing of a Volume of additions and corrections to the Glossary was under consideration." At the time of the publication of the *Glossary*, Telugu was spoken, according to official estimates, by nine millions in the Presidency; and a knowledge of the language was helped by good practical grammars by Messrs Campbell and Brown. Campbell had published a Telugu and English Dictionary of which "the only defect was its want of comprehensiveness". Reversed

<sup>1</sup> Compiled under the orders of the E. I. Company, London, W.H. Allen & Co.

dictionaries of English and Telugu had also supplied useful selections for study.<sup>8</sup>

### C. PROVERBS.

One of the books deposited among the Brown MSS. of the India Office [(MSS. Eur. B. 51)—2 volumes in one] is *A Collection of Telugu Proverbs*, translated, illustrated and explained etc. .... and *A Supplement to the Collection of Telugu Proverbs*, containing additional proverbs, an index verborum, and an index to the European proverbs quoted in illustration by Captain M. W. Carr: 1868.

Brown supplied some brief 250 manuscript emendations for the work. At the end of the first volume, on the last page he has thus written: "The printing of the book is masterly, but the stuff is wretched." At the end he has given a list of references to himself.

### D. DICTIONARIES.

First is his *Dictionary, English and Telugu*—explaining the English idiom and phrases in Telugu, with the pronunciation of English words—prepared by C. P. Brown, 4 volumes, Madras, 1852. This book has (pp. xxiv, 1392 print and 1944 added leaves containing many notes which "were written after my return to England, in preparing the works for a second edition. This work proceeded steadily until 1880. The Dictionaries have grown to more than double the size of the 1852 edition." In the 4th volume, on pp. 1082-83, was written a note of some interest on Benjamin Schuler. The second is his *Telugu and English Dictionary*, explaining the colloquial style used in business and the poetical dialect, with explanations in Telugu. It has 1282 leaves added to the printed pages of the 4 volumes, as in the previous case. A revised edition of this was published in 1895, and a second edition of the revision in 1903, under the title:—"*A Telugu-English Dictionary*, new edition thoroughly revised, by M. Venkataratnam, W. H. Campbell and K. Veerasalingam Pantulu Garu."

Next comes his *A Dictionary of the mixed dialects and foreign words used in Telugu*, with an explanation of the Telugu alphabet (Madras, 1854). It has 208 leaves added to its printed part, containing a great quantity of emendations.

Then there follow two manuscript Dictionaries, (1) *Telugou et François* neatly written out in Telugu and French in double columns and containing about 12,500 meanings. The Ms. contains no date, nor any indication of the author; and it is surmised from the watermarks of the paper that it was written in or about the year 1794, and perhaps an ignorantly abridged copy of a book written about 1720-30. B.

<sup>8</sup> See p. xxii of the Preface to the *Glossary*.

considered this worthless. (2) *Dictionnaire Francois Telougou* (Dictionary of the Telugu language explained in French). This is an incomplete book, containing about 14,300 meanings; and Brown remarks that the spelling is wretched and altogether it is a poor production, and "had it any value, it is completely superseded by Mr. Campbell's *Telugu and English Dictionary*, in which work it was made use of." It is really Telugu-French and arranged absurdly enough, on the plan of the French alphabet coming "no lower than U (no great loss!)."

#### E. TABLES OF CHRONOLOGY.

There are eight volumes of chronology in the Brown MSS., of which three are printed books with sheet of addition in MS. interleaved and added at the end. The first of these latter is *Cyclic Tables of Hindu and Mahomedan Chronology*, regarding the history of the Telugu and Kannadi countries, to which are added the genealogies of particular Hindu families, with essays on various matters of inquiry. (Madras 1850). Brown had added to this numerous MS. notes and emendations. "On the inside of the cover is written 'see Critique on this volume of Cyclic Tables in *Friend of India*, 12 Feb. 1851; p. 117. It was written by the Rev. T. Smith of the Free Church. His great objection is regarding Vrihaspati on which see Warren, p. 332. There are in the book, separate columns for the Christian, Sâlvâhâna, Cyclic, Hijri and Fasil years and for notes.

The next printed book is entitled also the same as the previous one; but the emendations in MS. are not copied from the previous one. The last of the printed books on Chronology is '*Carnatic Chronology.*' *The Hindu and Mahomedan methods of reckoning time explained with sayings on the systems; symbols used for numerals, a new titular method of memory; historical records and other subjects.* (London, 1863). This may be regarded as a second edition of the *Carnatic Chronology*. Copious MS. notes were added by Brown to this; some of them were prepared after 1873. It is this copy as improved that is referred to by Brown when he says in his *Literary Life*: "A 3d ed. (edition) is ready".

Besides these, we have another printed work of Brown (not in Kaye's catalogue) on Chronology, entitled "*An Ephemeris*, shewing the corresponding dates according to the English, Hindu and Musulman Calendars from A.D. 1751 until 1850, compiled by order of Government under the directions of C.P.B. Madras, 1850. This is included in the first list of Taylor.

This work was prepared by a Hindu astronomer showing the monthly and weekly notations for a century - different columns being assigned for English, Telugu, Tamil, Malayalam and Hijri dates. Brown says in the preface that a volume on a similar plan was prepared under the directions of Mr. Reid, Registrar to the Court of Sadr Adalat at

Calcutta and was completed for the period A.D. 1764-1835; but it gave only one or two days in a week and omitted the lunar reckoning which was essential in Hindu dates. Brown's *Ephemeris* gives a valuable note on the use of Fasli year, which was reckoned loosely under Muhammadan rule and under the East India Company till the 13th July was constituted the beginning of the Fasli by the British in 1800 and thus the Fasli was metamorphosed into a solar reckoning devoid of months, being a mere official year. Thus A.D. 1870 came to be deemed Fasli 1229; and Munro's Report for 1807 speaks of survey rent in 1215, meaning Fasli 1215 for A. D. 1806.

Brown's manuscript tables of Carnatic Chronology include as many as five volumes. The first of them contains cyclic tables for ten centuries from A. D. 850, based on ancient inscriptions and on original documents, Sanskrit, Canarese, Telugu, Tamil and Persian, and giving corresponding Hindu, Muhammadan and European dates. This was prepared after 1840 and was the basis of printed version of 1850. The next volume is another version of the tables and contains a list of Mackenzie's Manuscripts in the Madras Library. The following next two volumes contain tables from A. D. 957 to 1810. The last of this set of volumes is entitled "Time-tables of Hindu, Mohamedan and English Chronology A. D. 1000-1850". The title is enlarged thus—"With the corresponding lunations and days of the week A. D. 1751-1850; with notices of historical events and the successive ruling families in Southern India and an index of names; with preparatory treatises explaining the system in use at various periods in the Telugu and Carnatic countries." The MS. contains no tables, but only rough notes for the preface. The printed work, entitled '*Ephemeris*' 1850, has been noticed above.

#### F. HISTORY AND CHRONICLES.

Two volumes of Brown's *Telugu Collection* are described under item 431 MSS. Eur. D. 307-2. The first contains several *Mahātmyas* and several historical works, like *Bizzala Raya Charitra* and '*Krishna raya Vixiam*'; and second contains *Kongu Desa Rajakkal* and *Palnati Charitra*, besides a *History of Surapuram*.

No. 434 of the India Office Collection is a manuscript account of the *Memoirs of Hyder Ali Bahadur and of his son Tippon Sultan* written in the Maratha language by Ram Chandra Das, Punganuri, an officer attached to the treasury under those princes. This was taken by Brown from among the Mackenzie MSS., translated into English and printed in 1849 with an ample historical commentary; and Brown claims to have even prepared a second edition for the press in fair manuscript form in 1853.

9 Refer to Taylor's List No. I given above.

Nos. 456 and 457 relate to Peixoto's History of Nawab Hyder Ali Khan Bahadur, which was edited by Brown. The original was apparently in Portuguese; and Brown had to work from an imperfect English translation. The second of these two MSS. contains Brown's emendations of sentences and corrections of proper names. The title itself seems to have been a creation of Brown, for a good portion of the text has no concern with Hyder Ali but contains anecdotes of the author, who was first an infantry captain in Goa, then took service with Hyder Ali in 1758 and rose to be "the chief of the vanguard of all the European fusiliers in his army. He left Haider Ali's service in 1797, went to Madras where however, he refused to enter English service and after extensive wanderings, resought employment under the Sultan of Mysore in 1769, and he was given charge of all the Europeans with firelocks on half his previous pay. He records incidents of this time "gives examples of Hyder's cruelty, some account of Colonel Wood etc." He deserted later from Haider Ali, and took service in Tanjore during its last siege by the English. Afterwards he retired to Goa and proceeded to Lisbon.

#### G. TELUGU LITERATURE.

Brown's works published by him either as author or as editor and quoted above should give an idea of his services to the resuscitation of Telugu literature in particular. The I. O. Collection contains a Ms. volume embodying plans for the revival and promotion of Telugu literature 1835-1838-1867. Among the plans are (1) observations made by him in 1837, regarding improvements in Telugu printing, in the collection of MSS, etc; (2) suggestions on the mode of transcription, mode of correction, payment and the best mode of printing, in the field of preparing critically exact editions of the poets; (3) mode of compiling indexes; (4) his literary acquaintances; (5) hints regarding purchases of MSS. and for the guidance of those wishing to collect or edit Sanskrit or Telugu MSS. Brown states in the course of this volume: "In 1835 I found Telugu Literature dead. In thirty years I raised it to life." It is for students of Telugu literature to estimate the real value, at this date, of this claim 10

The next Ms. under this heading is entitled "Telugu idioms exemplified in sentences on the plan of Willymott's Latin Particles: also examples of Syntax." Brown had added a large quantity of manuscript notes to his two articles—"Essay on the Language and Literature of the Telugus," originally published in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science* for 1839 and 1840. The following item is entitled "Essays on the language and literature of Telugu" rewritten in the year 1842. This contains three essays and is said to be "greatly extended from the paper

10 The claim is indeed justifiable. Ed.



originally printed in the tenth volume of 1833 of the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science* and reprinted in Nos. 32 and 34 of the *Asiatic Journal*, 1840."

The volumes containing his Literary Collections and Telugu Collections contain notes on the Śāktas written in 1840 at the suggestion of Prof. H. H. Wilson. Brown thus remarks on the Śākta sect in South India: "further close inquiry has led to the certainty that the Śakti Pūja or Tantra or Tantra system, whether it be in use in Bengal or not, is unknown in South of India. Of course, those brahmins who have a curiosity regarding the Tantra system can obtain and peruse the Tantra books; just as a scholar in England can procure and peruse a licentious Greek or Latin book; for instance, the writings of Petrus Denis, of Sanchez or of St. Basil, three authors whose excess in filthiness is far worse than anything we can find in the Tantras."

Brown's collections of papers regarding the Pongala and Vadagala sects of Vaiṣṇavas and on Mirasi or village business, in the form of disputations, may also be noted. He wrote a book of inquiries concerning the Vira Saiva or Jangam sect. He published a summary of these in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, and a paper on Creeds and Customs of the Jangams in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1871.

One volume of the India Office MSS. contains notes on Telugu grammar, a poem entitled 'I and my Carpet bag' and several odd memoranda, one of which last reads:—"At various times I have been considered (and by myself) as somewhat insane. Those who have known me most intimately have judged me wholly sane". T. Goldschmidt, R. Ross, K. Thomas and Walter Elliot are known to have been among Brown's literary correspondents.

Brown's Collections constitute a rich mine of still largely unexplored knowledge, affording ample scope for translation, interpretation and research. Along with researchers of the class of Mackenzie and Leyden, and also with the genus of oriental scholars like Wilson, Rottler, Kittel and others, Brown shines as a beacon-light to all succeeding researchers and scholars.

## PROPOSED MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES AT NAGARJUNAKONDA.

Rao K. N. DIKSHIT Bahadur, M.A. Director-General of Archaeology in India, Simla has been pleased to write to the *Editor* of this Journal the following letter in reply to the Editorial note published in Vol. X *ante*. We reproduce here the entire letter with the kind permission of the Director-General of Archaeology.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

D. O. No. 892/8102  
DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF  
ARCHAEOLOGY IN INDIA,  
Simla, the 22nd Sep. 1937.

Dear Mr. Krishnarao,

In the latest number of the Journal of your Society there appears an editorial comment under the heading "Archaeological Museum for Andhra Dēśa". In this connection I should like to inform you that 'Museum' is a provincial subject under the Reforms, and it is the Provincial Government to recognise the Andhra country as a separate cultural unit for which a Museum can be established. The Government of India have no concern with Provincial Museums, nor is it possible for them to make themselves responsible for the construction and maintenance of a museum for such a unit as Andhra Dēśa. As has been stated, the Museums maintained by the Government of India fall in two categories: (1) Central, which include the Calcutta and Delhi Museums, and (2) local Museums which are, strictly speaking, erected at the *sites* where important objects are recovered in sufficient quantity. Among the latter class are the Museums at Taxila and Harappa (Punjab), Mohenjodaro (Sind), Sarnath (U. P.) and Nalanda (Bihar). It is not permissible to stretch the meaning of "local Museums" by attempting to build a Museum at Bezawada for housing the remains of Nāgarjunakonda. Bezawada may be a central place and for that reason quite suitable for the construction of a Museum for the Andhra districts of the Madras Presidency, but this is a matter for the Andhra public or the Provincial Government to decide.

In paragraph 4 of the comments, certain Museums have been mentioned, but among them only the Patna, Bombay and Lucknow Museums are Provincial. The Museum at Rajahmundry has been built entirely at the expense of the founder-President of the Varadra Research Society. The Museum at Dacca has been established by a local Committee and is now (like Rajahmundry) recognised for certain purposes as a 'regional' Museum for the Dacca Division. Calcutta and Delhi, as I have stated above, are Central Museums. At Agra there is no Museum except a small collection at the Taj. The Rajkot Museum is meant for the Kathiawar States, but as several of the States maintain their own collection, it is not being developed as it should have been. You will thus see that there are no Museums maintained by the Government of India at any of the Provincial centres except the Indian Museum at Calcutta which has been in existence for the last hundred years.

You refer to the Madras Presidency as a vast and varied region. The case of the Bombay Presidency is also similar, but pending any

Museums in the different linguistic areas, such as Gujerat, Karnātaka and Mahārāstra, the Prince of Wales Museum at Bombay is recognised as the only Provincial Museum. In the United Provinces, although the Provinces of Oudh and Agra are different, there is only one Provincial Museum for the whole Province, but the United Provinces Government have also provided a local Museum for the important centre of Mattra. In Allahabad there is also a large Municipal Museum. I must mention that the Archaeological Department has helped both the Mattra and Allahabad Museums by lending them exhibits, but the responsibility of their maintenance is in no way borne by the Central Government.

You will thus see that it is for the Andhra people to put together their resources and induce the Government of Madras to recognise their claims and to provide a Museum at a centre like Bezwada. When such a Museum has been constructed, we shall certainly consider sympathetically its claim to a share of the antiquities which we may collect in our investigations in the Āndhra-dēśa. As regards Nāgārjunakonda it is solely with a view to preserve the relics within the border of Āndhra-dēśa rather than have them scattered in other Museums, such as Madras or Calcutta, that the idea of constructing a Museum at this inaccessible and difficult place was pursued. For a number of years the sculptures found here were lying in the open and were liable to damage by the effects of weather, but in the absence of a road there was hardly any means even for the removal of the relics to a safer place. The Government of Madras promised that they will provide an approach road from Mācherla as early as possible, and it was on this understanding that this Department undertook to construct the local museum. The materials have already been collected, and the construction is beginning very soon. I hope, therefore, that you will see that the Department has tried to do its best for Andhra-dēśa. As to the location you will, I suppose, agree that the relics can best be studied in their natural surroundings where the monuments, for which they were recovered, have also been properly preserved. Bezwada, therefore, offers no substitute for the picturesque and historic surroundings of Nāgārjunakonda, and you will, I am sure, revise your opinion in respect of our decision.

Yours sincerely,  
K. N. DIKSHIT,

We entirely agree with the views of the Director-General of Archaeology and hope that the Madras Government will take steps early to fulfil their promise of building a good road to Mācherla, and that the sympathetic Government of India will give Andhra Dēśa, ere long the promised Museum of Antiquities at Nāgārjunakonda.

A Provincial Museum for Āndhra dēśa may be organised profitably at Rajahmundry where there is already a nucleus, the Museum of the Andhra Historical Research Society. We hope the Andhras will pool their resources together to achieve this object.

Editor.

## EXTRACTS FROM THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

DELIVERED AT THE HISTORY SECTION OF THE  
NINTH ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE, TRIVANDRUM, DEC. 1937.

DR. R. C. MUZUMDAR, M.A., Ph.D.,  
*Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University,*

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Before I proceed further I must mention the great loss that the study of Indian history has sustained by the death of Dr. K. P. Jayaswal. For more than a quarter of a century he was a dominant figure in the field of Indian history, and his learned contributions on a variety of topics have distinctly enriched the subject.

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There is no denying the fact that he supplied a dynamic force which quickened the progress of Indological studies and widened their scope. His untiring industry and passionate attachment to Indology are really remarkable. In spite of heavy professional duties of a lawyer, he found time not only to make a deep study of the diverse problems of Indology but also to manage with great success institutions like Bihar and Orissa Research Society which would ever remain a great monument to his scholarship and organising ability. He was intimately connected with the Oriental Conference, and was elected its President at the Baroda Session. The oriental scholarship is distinctly poorer to day by his death.

The name of Dr. Jayaswal would remain indissolubly bound up with the foundation of what may be called an Indian School of Indology. It is difficult to define this term, or perhaps, even to justify its use. But those who have been in intimate touch with the progress of Indological studies in this country would easily comprehend its meaning.

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A great revolution is silently taking place in Indological studies in India and we are in the midst of the period of transition. This is what I understand by the term "Indian School of Indology" mentioned above. Among that small band of scholars whose clarion call led to the foundation of this new school of study in India, Dr. Jayaswal must for ever have an honoured place.

The best and most proper way to show respect to the dead is to follow in their footsteps and continue the great work to which they

dedicated their lives. Homage to the memory of Dr. Jayaswal, if it is sincere, must inspire us and stimulate our activities to a more serious and co-ordinated study of Indian history and culture. The Indian school of Indology is now in the process of growth, and it should be our common endeavour to ensure that it develops on healthy lines and sound principles.



One of the greatest benefits that accrued to this study from European schooling or discipline was the introduction of scientific method in the pursuit of historical studies. This involved, above all, two great principles, the critical spirit in the analysis and examination of data, and a sincere quest for truth in a detached spirit, without prejudices, passions or pre-conceived notions of any kind. In all our future studies these two broad principles must always be kept in the fore-ground. Unfortunately, with the growth of popularity of the subject, some amount of laxity is noticeable in this respect. In a craze for making great discoveries, and allured by the prospect of establishing new truths, some writers have developed a tendency of deducting facts from very insufficient data, and of suiting these facts to their novel theories, rather than building up a theory on the basis of facts ascertained in a scientific way from reliable data. Nor has the study of the history of ancient India remained unaffected by the passing current of national movement. Some have deliberately sought to use our ancient history as an element in our national fight, and reconstructed it with a view to maintain that everything in ancient India was beyond cavil or criticism, and that it contained almost all the elements of progress which we notice in the modern world.

These are disquieting signs, ... But it is time that we should denounce this uncritical method of study and check its further progress. Those who uphold the cause of scientific study of history must rigidly and scrupulously follow the scientific principles and make a determined effort to expose the hollowness of these uncritical studies, unswayed by any motive of personal considerations or pseudo-patriotic sentiment. ... In the scientific study of history, ... we must sedulously foster a spirit of healthy criticism, without personal rancour, undeterred by any consideration of the reputation or greatness of the scholar whose views are involved. This is a *sine qua non* for a real progress in our studies, and we must ruthlessly shake off the sentimental weakness or false idea of decency which stand in the way of a free expression of our judgment. On the other hand criticism, to be healthy and useful, must avoid all acerbity of feelings and should not degenerate into an ill-concealed personal quibble. In this respect we can do no better than imitate the charity and courtesy which characterises European scholars in their dealings with fellow-workers.

The Indian School of Indology has one great task before it, viz., to compile a critical history of India. Such a task has been rendered possible by the success of specialised studies into the different branches of Indology during the past hundred years. Several attempts have been made in recent years to carry out this project, but unfortunately nothing came out of them. It is the clear duty of the Indian Oriental Conference to take the lead in this matter.

In addition to this co-operative project, there are several branches of Indology to which sufficient attention has not yet been paid by Indian scholars.

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In the first place, the discoveries of Mohenjodaro and other ancient sites in Sind and Baluchistan have opened a new vista in Indological studies. It has thrown new light on at least three important aspects of Indian history, viz., the antiquity of Hindu civilisation, its relation with Vedic civilisation, and its intercourse with the civilisations that grew up in early times on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, and perhaps also on the Nile. In short we have to study anew the beginnings of Indian history and civilisation. A proper treatment of this subject requires a critical knowledge of those allied civilisations of the West. *Unfortunately there is not a single Indian scholar who is properly equipped for the task.* This is a serious deficiency which must be removed. This can only be done if a big University like Calcutta makes provision for these studies either by opening up new departments with a properly equipped staff imported from abroad, or if that is not possible, by sending out competent young men to important centres of learning in Europe with adequate scholarship. In any case *India must have a centre of specialised study in these associated civilisations.* Of all Indian Universities Calcutta has made the most elaborate provision for the study of Indology. I earnestly appeal to its authorities to introduce this new study even by curtailing or re-shuffling the existing organisation for Indology if financial considerations stand in the way.

Another important branch of Indian history in which little progress has been made by Indian students, is the history of the spread of Indian culture and civilisation in other parts of Asia. The establishment of the Greater India Society in Calcutta has aroused a general interest in this glorious chapter of Indian history. But little real work has been done so far. The reason is not far to seek. Unlike European Universities, those in India do not attach sufficient importance to a knowledge of foreign languages, even in higher studies. The result has been that students in this country do not usually acquire the knowledge of any foreign language other than English, and their knowledge is limited to books written in that language. On the other hand, the



materials for the history of Indian civilisation in Java, Sumatra, Annam, Cambodia, Siam and Malay Peninsula are available only in Dutch and French publications, and the same is true, to a large extent, in respect of China. Besides, a knowledge of the language of these countries is also essential for a real and critical study of the subject. All these equipments are lacking in Indian scholars, and a strenuous endeavour must be made in providing for these studies in our universities.

In short, time has come for co-ordinated efforts on the part of our Universities to make adequate provision for those studies which are essential for the furtherance of Indology but which are at present lacking in this country. Here again we can appeal only to the rich Universities for supplying the deficiency. For, at present the Universities are the only seats of higher learning in India where provision can be made for these studies. The only other alternative is the establishment of an Indian Research Institute with adequate funds for development along these lines. Charitable endowments are not rare in this country, but few of these go to educational institutions. Even those few are generally earmarked for the advancement of scientific or technical studies.....The new national India cannot thrive without a proper cultural background. Those who have long and broad vision about the future of our motherland must be impressed with the paramount necessity of putting Indological studies on a proper basis. A demand for political independence must be preceded by an intellectual independence. People seldom realise that to-day the intellectual dependence of India is no less marked than the political and economic dependence of India. It is time that we seek for an intellectual regeneration. One of the first steps in that direction must be to make India the great centre of Indological studies in all its ramifications. We ourselves should be in a position to explore and interpret every single phase of our own culture and civilisation. We shall ever gratefully acknowledge the great debt we owe to Europe for initiating us into these studies, but we should not be content any longer to remain in intellectual tutelage of any other country. Further, there are distinct signs that Indological studies will not flourish long in Europe. One by one, the great scholars of the last generation are passing away, leaving a void which is not likely to be filled up by the younger generation. Time is not distant when researches in Europe and America will cease to count as appreciable factors in the progress of Indology. On our shoulders therefore must fall the legitimate task of keeping the torch burning — the torch that was lighted a hundred years ago to illumine the darkness that shrouded our ancient past. It is, therefore, our paramount duty to set about making preparations for that great and noble task that lies ahead. The success of a Conference like this is only to be measured by the extent to which it brings us nearer our goal.

We appeal to the Andhra University for taking suitable and prompt steps for the promotion of Indological studies on the lines suggested in the above address in the closing paragraphs. In the Andhra University which was avowedly constituted for the promotion of Indological studies with special reference to the History of the Andhras and Andhra dēśa, there are no chairs for studies in Andhra language, literature and culture and Sanskrit and other oriental languages. We earnestly hope the authorities of the University will ere long remedy this defect.

*Editor.*

### Corrigenda

#### AUTHORSHIP AND DATE OF MĀCCHAKATIKĀ.

By A. D. PUSALKER.

The author requests the readers to change the word *Āndhra-bhṛtya* into *Āndhra* and *Āndhrabhṛtyas* into *Āndhras* wherever they occur in the article.

#### VELICHERLA GRANT OF PRATĀPA RUDRA GAJAPATI.

##### POST SCRIPT.

Since returning the proofs to you, I have come to learn from Mr. Godavarti Ramadas Pantulu, B.A., M. R. A. S., Jeypore that those three loops and the continuing line at the end of the writing on the last plate represent a conch (*śankha*), an emblem of military equipment and enterprise in ancient Indian warfare. See *Bhagavad Gītā* for instance: Chapter I, vv. 12—19 which culminate in the famous passage—

सधोषो धार्तृपशूनां हृदयात्विदारयन्

I am inclined to think that the explanation of Mr. Ramadas is the correct one.

O, VENKATA RANGAIYA.

## REVIEWS.

**The Kharias** by S. C. ROY AND R. C. ROY with a *Foreword* by DR. R. R. MARETT. 2 Vols. Price Rs. 11.

The authors are well-known for their anthropological studies. The Khariās are primitive tribes living in the forests and hilly parts of Orissa feudatory states, Chota-Nagpur and a part of C. P. (East). Their total population comes up to two lakhs. One-third of them are described as Christians and one-third as Hindus and the rest as animists (aborigines). Their language is a branch of the Mundā language but some speak Oriya and some Bengali. This tribe has three distinct divisions,

1. Pāharjās—Hill-men living by hunting and shifting cultivation.
2. Dhakīs—Food-producers and plough cultivators.
3. Dūdhās—Men advanced in social and religious system.

After narrating the previously published account of the Khariās in Chapter III, the authors describe in Chapter IV to VII, their physical, economic, social and tribal organisations. These are very detailed and instructive. In Chapter VIII to X, their birth, marriage and death ceremonies are described and in Chapters XI to XVI, their religious beliefs, festivals, games, crafts, arts and dancing etc., are described in an interesting manner. The appendices at the end containing statistics are useful to students of anthropology.

The authors are to be congratulated on their detailed sketch of the life and manners of the Khariās. The book is well-illustrated. The authors' plea that this decreasing tribe should be helped by all should commend respect, and their statement that they became Christians to secure relief from the oppressions of the landlords and money-lenders must make the Hindus pause and think. It is something that this tribe can stand comparison with the Mundas and the Oraons in their general culture and character.

We hope that this interesting book will find a place in every College and University library.

R. SURBA RAO, M.A.

**Suryasiddhanta** (A Text Book of Hindu Astronomy); English Translation with Notes and Appendix by Rev. ERNESTER BURGESS—Reprinted from the edition of 1860; Edited by Prof. Phanindranath Ganguly, M.A., B.L., with an Introduction by Prof. Prabodh Chandra Sengupta, M.A., Published by the University of Calcutta 1935. Pp. ii + 409. Price Rs. 7.

We are glad to welcome the second edition of the translation of the *Suryasiddhanta* under the patronage of the Calcutta University. It

has been for long, a desideratum, and it is no wonder if students of Hindu Astronomy should deem themselves fortunate in procuring the book for a nominal cost of Rs. 7, when they were previously obliged to go in for a second-hand book somewhere from Allahabad at the prohibitive cost of Rs. 100 per copy.

*Suryasiddhanta* has ever been the sacred Astronomical work of the Hindus and, ever stands out as a historical monument of the ancient Hindu culture. This book was originally translated by the Reverend E. Burgess in 1860 A. D. and published in the Journal of the American Oriental Society. In view of the innumerable technical difficulties in bringing out a translation of a scientific work, especially when the original is in Sanskrit, and that too abounding in ambiguous and enigmatical expressions, Burgess's work will never fail to stand out as a model of research work. While on the one hand, it reflects much credit to the genius of a foreigner, who must have taken enormous pains to do the task, equally does it, on the other hand, speak badly about the intellectual inertia of the modern Hindus, who have not still realized the necessity of elucidating their own culture. It is a great pity that they have been accustomed to a very bad tradition of priding themselves on ancient glory, when it is recognised by the West, and pocketing any sort of damning remark, provided a Westerner has condescended to make it.

As for the present reprint of the translation, it is not much to say that the Calcutta University, is as usual the leading institution with regard to the Oriental culture, in aptly bringing out this edition. It is edited by Prof. Phanindranath Ganguly, M.A., B.L., Premchand Roychand scholar and lecturer in the Calcutta University, whose erudition is recognised in more than one branch of letters. Further more, what renders the translation specially useful, is, that it is prefixed now with a critical and learned introduction by Prof. Sengupta, sometime lecturer in Indian Astronomy in the same University. Prof. Sengupta's argument that Hindu Scientific Astronomy is independent of any foreign source seems to be critical and justifiable. Burgess too was inclined to take the same view in his Appendix (p. 383). The present translation which has been critically edited is indispensable to research scholars also for the invaluable references contained in it. It is indeed a glorious tribute to the memory of the late Reverend E. Burgess.

D. A. SOMAYAJI, M.A., B Ed.

**An Introduction to Politics** by Prof. PRATAPAGIRI RAMAMURTI, Professor of History, Wilson College Bombay. (The Popular Book Depot, Grant Road, Bombay — Price Rs. 2-8-0.)

This is a book on political thought, dealing with the usual topics of the origin of the state, the sphere of the state, principles of political obligation, sovereignty etc. The author seems to have set before

himself two objects in the treatment of these problems: one "to interpret them in terms of idealism" and another "to present the views of ancient Indian thinkers" wherever possible.

As regards the former aim, it does not appear that the author's attempt to carry political idealism beyond Green and Hobhouse carries us far. "The state is the individual universalised and so is not alien to him. The individuality and personality of the state is far more than a fiction of the laws; it is as real as life itself. The individual is realised in the state; he is not a person outside of it. His personality reaches to a higher state in the combined and the continuous synthesis of the state. In the same way, the state is itself being gradually realised in the spirit of the world. The personality of the state is interdependent on the citizens. The most vital truth of their relationship is this mutuality". The whole conception, resembling the Hindu Vedantic Conception of Godhead, is thus summed up by T. H. Green. "God is a being in whom we exist; with whom we are in principle one; with whom the human spirit is identical in the sense that he is all which the human spirit is capable of becoming." "The state is not external or alien to the nature of the citizen. It is his highest expression, the complex of institutions without which, he should not have a life to call his own. All that he holds dear, science, art, religion, etc., rest and grow in the state. In ancient society, the individual existed for the state; in modern society, it is sometimes said, the state existed for the individual. This is rather a false antithesis and is a wrong approach. It is not possible to rigidly divorce end and means; both are identified in purpose. The state is at once end and means". It is all Green's doctrine of self-realisation through state; the state being the expression of the social self; its mind, of the social mind. "It is the best and highest expression ourselves. In obeying it, we are obeying the best self which makes us human".

All this transcendentalism is followed by the admission that it applies not to the state as it is, but as it should be: especially no nation-state ought to be sovereign." The state as a moral or spiritual principle, the expression of the general will, makes for interdependence and solidarity not for the impotence and stagnation of independence (of nation states). It is an ideal which can be realised only when sovereignty results in the whole of Humanity organised in a single commonwealth—a World state.

As regards the second objective of the author, namely, to present the views of ancient Indian thinkers, it is done on a very limited scale and that too to demolish the view held by some modern Indian scholars that most of the doctrines of Western Political philosophy had their counter parts in ancient Hindu thought; for instance, speaking about the contractual theory of the state, he says "Hindu political thought was

always religious in its essence and no political problem was discussed without a religious or theological background. Political practice and life must assume a secular temper in order that a contractual view of civic relations should prevail. Some passages in the *Aitr̥ya Brāhmaṇa* are ridden to death in the futile attempt to establish that Eastern thought too countenances the theory of social contract etc., etc." So also speaking about the organic theory of the origin of the state, the author, after pointing out how biological analogies are explored by ancient Indian writers to visualize the state, the body politic of the *Saptāṅga* and to describe the function or empirical *Dharma* of the various castes of the Hindu social order, says "The Hindu conception is not organic enough. The other orders and classes than the higher castes, the Brahmin and Kshatriyas, are regarded merely as means to an end. The body politic did not mean the same thing to every constituent part. The Śūdras or the lower orders were to serve the higher classes. The good that the state sought to realise was not the common good. In the organism the parts cannot stand to each other as means and end".

Though on the whole there is not much of newness in the matter contained in the book, it is a concise and clear survey of the whole field of Western political thought, and should be of great help to our University students that take up Political Philosophy for Honours Courses.

S. VENKATACHARI, M.A.

**Dr. S. Krishnaaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume**  
 Edited by Professors: V. RANGACHARYA, C. S. SRINIVASACHARI and  
 Mr. V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAN. 100 pp. and 20 pp. Introductory  
 and Appreciations.

This is a volume of "Essays and Papers written by the learned Doctor's Friends, Pupils and Admirers" and presented to him on his degree 66th birthday (15th April 1936). It contains his full-size photo-print, a Foreword, appeal signed by eminent professors and learned scholars for contributions to the volume as a result of which 70 papers were received. A Note on the Life & Works of Dr. S. K. Aiyangar and an appendix showing all his works are given in the Volume.

From the editorial note, we learn that the learned Doctor graduated in physics and devoted himself to post-graduate studies in Mathematics and afterwards interested himself in History taking his in it in 1899. Since 1900, being employed as a lecturer in History in the Bangalore College, he began to contribute historical articles like "The Woddyars of Mysore", "The Celas of S. India" etc., to several leading journals. In 1903, he took a leading part in founding the Mythic Society of Bangalore and in 1911 published his first work *Ancient India*. In 1914 he was appointed by the Madras University as its Professor of



History and in that capacity he published most of his works. He was also a learned journalist being connected with the editing of the Journal of the Mythic Society, the *Indian Antiquary* and the Journal of Indian History. His career is thus an inspiring example and very rightly several research scholars praise his work and hold him in great esteem as proved by the several Appreciations published in the Volume.

Among the 70 papers published, 23 relate to General Indian History, 14 to S. I. History, 6 to Religion and Philosophy, 14 to Language and Literature, 10 to Art and Archaeology, and 3 to Greater India. Most of the articles are thought provoking and highly instructive. And for example, Dr. Bhattacharya's *Royal Prerogative in Ancient India*, Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy's *Vedic Monotheism*, Dr. Pradhan's *Śitunāga and Kākauaryo*, Dr. Subramanya Aiyar's *Roll of Brahman in Andhradeśa in Eastern Chāḍḍya period*, Mr. Venkatarao's *Aśoka's Dharma*, Prof. Acharya's *Playhouse of the Hindu Period*, Prof. Rangachari's *Suvarṇabhāṇḍi and Suvarṇadwīpa* and Prof. Srinivasachari's *South India and Eastern Archipelago — A Study of Culture Migration*, are worth mentioning.

It is a very interesting and learned work which ought to find a place in every college and club library. An index and a better sort of binding would have certainly increased the value of the work.

R. SUBBA RAO, M.A.

**The Khandakhādya:** An Astronomical Treatise of *Brahmagupta*. Translated into English with an Introduction, Notes and Appendices by Prof. PRABODH CHANDRA SENGUPTA, M.A. Published by the Calcutta University, 1934. Pp. ix+xxx. 80s.

Brahmagupta's *Khandakhādya* is one of the greatest works of Indian Astronomy. Brahmagupta wrote another work *Brahmasphuṭa-siddhānta*. He gave a date year in that book from which we can say that he lived about 628 A. D. From the given date in *Khandakhādya* it appears that the book was written about 665 A. D. This book is solely written on the basis of *Āryabhaṭīya*. But Brahmagupta has simplified the same calculations. Though the calculation is simple it gives the same results as *Āryabhaṭīya*. But in some Brahmagupta is quite independent and follows his own way. This book is divided into two parts—*Khandakhādya* proper and *Uttara Khandakhādya*. In the first part calculation of various planets and eclipses are given. The second part deals with spherical portion of astronomy; and the methods of this portion are based mainly on the theories of his *Brahmasphuṭa-siddhānta*. This is a book on the *ardharāśtrika* system of Āryabhaṭa. Unlike in his *Brahmasphuṭa-siddhānta* he followed equal space system in this book. The book originally consisted of 11 chapters. Eight chapters consist *Khandakhādya* proper and three *Uttara Khandakhādya*.

But one manuscript shows a twelfth chapter on Pātas. If there was really a chapter on that there was no necessity to Pṛthūdaka to give his own calculation on this in his commentary. So we may consider that this was added by somebody. Among numerous commentaries on *Khaṇḍakhādya* those written by Lalla, Bhaṭṭaspaṭa, Pṛthūdaka, Sōmēśvara, Varuṇa and Amaraja are important.

This book is translated into English by Prof. Prabhodh Chandra Sengupta who also adds very valuable notes and introduction. The translation is in a very simple style. It is written for each śloka separately, so that the full meaning of the text may be easily known.

In the *Introduction* Prof. Sengupta gives the various constants of other works such as *Aryabhaṭṭya*, *Sūryasiddhānta* of Varāhamihira and the Modern *Sūryasiddhānta*. He has proved that the planetary revolutions, longitudes of nodes of the orbits, orbital inclination of *Aryabhaṭṭya* and *Khaṇḍakhādya* are the same. Also, the constants of longitude of the apogees of the orbits of planets, Dimensions of epicycles of apsis, Dimensions of Śighra epicycles of *Sūryasiddhānta* of Varāhamihira and of *Khaṇḍakhādya* are similar. The translator gave the full meaning and derivation of the figures used by Brahmagupta. Along with his notes he gives also examples. Both are exhaustive and illuminating. From the given examples and notes a man though ignorant of Astronomy can easily understand and work out. In some places he shows the differences between this book and the other books and in some places the approximations used by Brahmagupta are also clearly shown. At the end of Chapter I the translator gives fully notes on the *śloka*s given by Pṛthūdaka. In his notes he gave not only the meaning of the text but also the meanings given by the commentators.

Epigraphists who are quite ignorant of Astronomy and who cannot understand the Sanskrit text may easily work out the dates with the help of this translation, notes, and worked examples of this book. The translation and the notes are much more useful to the professional astronomers of the day. It was perhaps through this great work that *Brahmasphuṭa siddhānta* of Brahmagupta came to be valued. Even now this *siddhānta* is used in calculating Almanacs in different parts of Rajaputana, Bombay and other places.

The present translation with notes, is now published as Part I of a complete edition of the *Khaṇḍakhādya*. The publication is done under the auspices of the Research Fund in Indian Mathematics and Astronomy created by Maharaja Sri Manindrachandra Nandi, K. C. I. F. of Cassimbazar.

Pandit D. VERGESWARA SASTRI.

# JOURNAL OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY

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**LATE SRI K. NAGESWARA RAO PANTULU GARU,**  
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# JOURNAL OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY

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## TELOGU LITERATURE AND HISTORY

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The literature of a country is said to reflect the activities of its people in all the spheres of their life as a nation; and as history is nothing but a narrative describing the national life in all its aspects, the relationship between literature and history is necessarily intimate. Such, at any rate, is the relationship that exists between the literature and the history of the Telugu people. This has been recognised to some extent by historians; and they have freely availed themselves of the valuable information embodied in the *prishikas* or the author's prefaces with which all the literary works in Telugu commence invariably. As the *prishika* is usually devoted to a description of the genealogy of the patron to whom the poem is dedicated, and of the great deeds which he and his ancestors have performed, the information they detail is generally of a political and military character, although occasionally, as, for instance, in the *prishika* of the Haravilasa of Śrinātha, information about the peaceful avocations of life is also met with.

Beside the information contained in the *prishikas* and the concluding verses, Telugu literary works, especially the *prabandhas*, yield considerable material which an historian can ill afford to neglect. As the Telugu authors in general, and the Prabandha writers in particular, are accustomed to impart a local colouring to their themes and weave into the texture of their works various strands of information pertaining to the society in which they lived, they help to amplify our scanty knowledge of the conditions governing the life of the people in the past. They impart to us bits of information about the hopes and fears of the people, how they toiled in the field, in the cattle-pen and the shop, how they ate and drank, and what they did to amuse themselves. However,

the extraction of the relevant information furnished by the Prabandhas is not an easy task, as much of it is mixed up with material which is not of use to the historian. The investigator must be a literary archaeologist as well as chemist, if one may be excused for coining such uncommon terms. He must dig like an archaeologist into the *terro firma* of literature with the spade of his mind and melt the material obtained therefrom in the crucible of criticism so as to separate the pure substance from the dross. An example may serve to illustrate the nature of work which an investigator has to perform in extracting the historical material from the Telugu literary works whether they are Prabandhas, Purāṇas, or literature of other description. Now, several prabandhas describe the behaviour of the Mussalman soldiers in the Svarga of Indra whither they had been despatched from the battle-field by the victorious Hindu warriors. Peddanna, the poet-laureate of Krishṇarāya, seems to have opened the gates of the Svarga to the Mussalman warriors without considering the possible consequences of his action; he has shown the Muhammadan cavaliers of Beḍadakōṭa (Bidar) the way to the Svarga and carefully recorded what they said to one another as they galloped along the high way to heaven. Their advent in the Svarga did not pass unnoticed.

Krishṇarāya recounts the atrocities of these Muhammadans in the Svarga. The Mussalman soldiers having been slain by his sword in the battles of Kalubariṅgi (Gulbarga) and Sagar went to Indra's heaven. They drank the wine drawn from the divine (palm) trees, and (becoming intoxicated) moved about (the streets of) Indra's capital with "great tumult; they licked away the yellow ochre caste marks (*gōpīśāndana*) of Śaṅkha and other divine sages; bent (the stems of) the Vipas of the divine musicians, Hāhā and Hūhū, to make bows out of them, thereby causing the wires to snap; kicked out the *lingas* of sand set up by the Seven Rishis in the bed of the Heavenly Ganges with their booted legs, and forcibly caught hold of the plump breasts of Rāmbhā and other *apārṇava*s, wherever they met them.

Occasionally, they changed their tactics. Saverath Chinnā Nārāyaṇa Nāyaka, an officer of King Venkaṭa II, narrates accurately what took place during the days of his ancestors. "On reaching Surapura (i.e., Amarāvati)," says he, "they (the Mussalman warriors slain by one of his ancestors) lay encamped outside the city and sent Indra a *hātib* (messenger) to inform him that they would not attend his court unless he satisfied certain conditions before he gave audience:—he should (1) wipe the thin black mark (*reṣma*) of musk off his forehead; (2) remove the elongated pearl ring from his ears and fill up the bores left uncovered by them; (3) take away the jewelled crown off his head and tie a turban in its place in the manner of the Pāthāns; (4) and abandon the thunderbolt, and arm himself instead with the bow."

What answer Indra gave to this demand is not on record; he seems to have agreed to introduce the desired changes in his dress and accoutrement to suit the taste of the newcomers. The Muhammadan warriors established themselves in the *Svarga* and created panic by their unseemly behaviour so that even the mighty *dikpālas* ceased, in fear, to visit the metropolis of the Gods. However, they obtained news about the happenings in the capital through Nārada, who is said to have transmitted to them the desired information with great promptitude. He informed them that these Muhammadan warriors had dragged Jayanta (the son of Indra) upon the ground to force him to salute the boots of the faithful, harassed Tumbura by commanding him to stop his gesticulations and sing local ditties; plundered the shops of heaven for liquor-bottles and *ganja* powder; and disgraced the apesrasi Harini by insisting that she should attend to the work of the stable.<sup>1</sup>

Painful as these descriptions are, they are not worthless as they may appear at first sight. It is true that the happenings in the *Svarga* are beyond the ken of mortal men, and consequently they cannot be regarded as authentic records describing the progress of events in heaven; but viewed from another angle, they reveal a substratum of truth which no historian can afford to ignore. The writers whose works we have cited have attributed to the dead Muslim warriors the same mode of conduct in the *Svarga* as that which characterised them on earth. Although their accounts cannot be regarded as genuine chronicles of the events in heaven, they are invaluable to the historian as they describe some of the earthly habits of the Mussalmans and indicate indirectly their attitude towards the Hindus during their life in this world.

Information useful for the purposes of history is found in literature in three different conditions. In the first place, the figures of speech such as *upamā* and *viprākāśa* which the authors frequently employ in their poems impart much interesting information about the economic or social conditions. Take for instance, Śrinātha's comparison of the Sun caught between the ridges of the haughty Vindhya mountain to a *jōgu* (ship) entrapped between the billows of a stormy sea<sup>1</sup>, or Rāmarāja-bhūṣana's bee which, like a merchant, having boarded the open *jōgu* of camphor-bark and crossed the ocean of honey, reached the island of the flower-dust where it met the trader, the breeze and exchanged pearls, viz., flowers-buds for cloth, i. e., camphor.<sup>2</sup> Now these comparisons give us interesting information about our maritime trade in the 15th and 16th centuries. They inform us that our merchants used to cross the seas carrying with them cloth which they exchanged for pearls and probably also for other articles in the foreign markets. The voyages were

1 The *Kaśikāṇḍa* 1:96.

2 *Vaṭuṇaritra* 2:162.

not always secure; and the ships in which the merchants sailed, were caught now and then in a storm at sea and foundered. The term *jōgu* occurring in the passages quoted above points to the existence of commercial intercourse between India and the east; for 'jōgu' is a loan word from the Malayan and Javanese languages and is identical with *jong* or *qjong* (a ship or a large vessel)<sup>2</sup> from which the English 'junk' also is derived.

Secondly, descriptions of the seasons, the Sun, the Moon, etc., which occur as interludes in poems and other literary works, convey much useful information. As these descriptions portray the external appearance of things in general, and the behaviour of men and animals in particular, they have a good deal to tell us about the conditions of life during the age when they were written. We learn from the *Amuktamalyada* that in summer owing to the extreme heat of the sun, the level of water in the wells sank very low, and women had to draw water resting their breasts on the parapet wall by means of long ropes (2:66); and that people took refuge under the cool shade of trees in the garden throughout the day and repaired in the evening to the sugar cane mills, putting on coloured cloth and wearing jasmine flowers (2:70). The rich ate in the afternoon a dish consisting of the slices of fresh river fish and half ripe mangoes and drank the water of the tender coconut which was kept buried in the sand heaped under the shadow of the trees for neutralising the unpleasant effects of the dish (2:68). The nobles visited the villages where the people erected cool pavilions to receive them (2:62). During the rains, people who were accustomed to eat after seeing the sun had to go without food; the cultivators of the soil found suitable time for sowing the seeds; the people that used to assemble in the fairs deserted them; and the owners of houses with mud-terraces lost sleep at night (4:123). The pedestrians who took shelter under the roofs of the rest-houses along the highway, quarrelled with one another about the relative superiority of the Hayapati (the Sultan), the Gajapati (king of Orissa), and the Narapati (king of Vijayanagara); and scattered as soon as the weather showed indication of clearing away (4:131). In the month of Bhādrapada, the wives of the farmers went to their men in the fields carrying on their heads pots containing porridge under the protecting-cover of *gāḍas* of *zummā* (straw), (4:132). The wealthy *reddis*, having partaken steaming food of *aruḡas* mixed with a dish of *gurugu*, *chanchālī*, *zummī*, *agiriśa*, and tamarind herbs fried in oil, mounted their cots with braziers of goat-dung fire underneath and slept while the calves licked their bodies. (4:134). The descriptions of the sunset, the stars, the rise of the Moon, etc., also furnish interesting details about social life. Errana, for instance, mentions certain



features of the dancing hall in describing the earth aglow with the strange light of the setting sun: "The novel twilight of the evening" says he, "looked like a crimson curtain which Time, the stage-director (*sātradhāra*) draws up, as the dancer Night commences to dance in the court of the sky decorated with starry flowers in the presence of the assembled chiefs of the quarters."<sup>4</sup> Similarly, Rāmarājabbhūṣaṇa alludes to the manner of pearl-fishing in describing the emergence of stars: "The stars," says he, "made their appearance like pearls which the diver, the Sun, who has been lowered into the waters of the sea by the captain the sunset mountain, has brought out."<sup>5</sup>

Descriptions of this kind abound in almost all Telugu works. Though they do not yield any information about kings and wars, they contribute much to enrich our knowledge of the life of the common people.

Thirdly, the descriptions of fairs and festivals, the exposition of the current theological dogmas and philosophical tenets, etc., which the authors introduce into their writings, however ancient their themes may be, are of immense value to the historian, as they contain much useful information about the religious and the social life of the people during the period when these authors lived and wrote: The *Mādhātīcharitram* and *Sāmbopākhyānaṁ*, both works of 16th century, describe the *Vaiṣṇavāra* of Rāmānuja at length, though Mādhātī and Sāmba, the heroes of these poems, are said to have lived in the Kṛta and Dvāpara *yugas* respectively. The shrine of Venkatādvaita at Tirumala is not known to have been in existence earlier than 8th century A.D. Nevertheless, Tarigoppula Mallana, a subordinate of Venkata II of Vijayanagara, sends Chandrabhānu, the son of Śrī Kṛṣṇa by his wife Baiya, and the hero of his poem the *Chandrabhānucharitram*, on a pilgrimage to Tirupati, and taking advantage of this event gives a graphic account of the pilgrims that flocked to this place. A huge concourse consisting of several crores of pilgrims travelled to Tirupati to offer worship to the lord of the Pannagāchala (Venkatādvaita). Some came with sealed lips and bodies emaciated owing to vows of fasting; some with unshorn heads moved forward in crowds to satisfy their vows; some, half dead with fright, walked without inclination on account of the *koḍam*<sup>6</sup> around their neck; some prostrated on the ground and rolled without minding bodily pain; some offered salutations at every kos of their journey, and others prostrated at every step.

1. *Narasimāpurāṇa* 3: 78.

2. *Vasucharitram* 4: 13.

3. *Koḍam* must be a sharp instrument like the *ganda-kottara* (a large pair of scissors used by the Vira Saivās to cut their heads off in fulfilment of vows) which the devotees appear to have worn around their neck, until they fulfilled their vow by making a pilgrimage to the shrine of the deity.

To meet this crowd of pilgrims and make a living out of the doles which they reluctantly distributed the *śāstri* mendicants ranged themselves along the path and attempted to attract attention in all possible ways: sucking their arms akimbo, some gesticulated as the castanets resounded; while the flame of the lamp-stand emitted smoke on account of the proximity of incense, some extended their hands and sounded the gong; slanting the head to one side as they struck the drum, some caused their trained bulls to dance; joining the courtesans in the service of the temple<sup>7</sup> some danced in the modest *chapparas*; and having seated themselves by the roadside with a patched cloth spread before them and protecting their faces from the sun by means of a veil, some sang on to the accompaniment of wooden *dandas*.<sup>8</sup>

Passages such as these throw considerable light upon popular religion, and the information they furnish cannot be neglected as it is necessary for comprehending the religious life of the past completely.

And lastly, beside the *prākāśas*, the figures of speech, and the descriptions of the seasons, the Sun, the Moon, the stars, etc., the narrative portions of Telugu literary works yield useful material; for, the authors of these works show a marked partiality to dress the ancient heroes and heroines in the garb of their own age. Prahlāda, for instance, grants *tambulikas* in his dependents to the conquered territory in the manner of the Rāyas of Vijayanagara.<sup>9</sup> And Maomaiha (Cupid) bestows *kattubādīs* of mango trees, *ammapākas* of flower shrubs, *pālems* of pomegranate plants, and *śabāras* (amarants) of heaps of flower-dust respectively on soldiers drawing the *kuñjilom* of herbs (cuckoos), Nallaparaja receiving the salary of cool honey of the flowers (bees), Pālegāra keeping guard over fruits (parrots), and the active nobleman having the management of coolness and fragrance (the south wind), in order to assemble an army to march against his love-lost foes. It is needless to point out that Cupid is not only made to confer estates on his followers like Prahlāda but organize his forces on the model of the Vijayanagara army. Nowhere is this propensity seen more emphatically than in the Prābandhaic literature which is the characteristic production of the age of the Rāyas. The lives and habits of the ancient mythological kings and princes whose achievements are therein described bear such close similarity to the lives and habits of the Rāya and his subordinates that one appears to be a counterpart of the other. These fictitious kings and

7 The exact meaning of 'Tiruvadi Śātri' is not known. Śātri is a courtesan, and Tiruvadi probably refers to the presiding deity of the hill at Tirupati. Hence it is tentatively rendered into English as "courtesan in the service of the temple".

8 The *Cāndrabhāgacharitam* 2:1, 43.

9 *Uttara Nrusimhapurāṇam* 2:43.

10. *Cāndrabhāgacharitam* 2:54.

their courtiers eat and drink, dress, decorate, and amuse themselves, and wage war upon their enemies even as the Rāya and his nobles are said to have done in the accounts of the foreign travellers. An account of the way in which some of the mythical kings are supposed to have mobilised their forces and led them against the enemy is given below to illustrate the tendency of the Prabandha writers of dressing the fictitious heroes of their stories with the garments borrowed from the wardrobe of the Rāyas.

As soon as the king resolved to lead an expedition against his neighbours, he commanded his servants (*śūyams*) to proclaim war in the streets of the capital.<sup>11</sup> Proceeding to a tent called *Veligudāra*<sup>12</sup> outside the precincts of the city, he awaited the arrival of the troops. Then came contingents of copper-hued, red-whiskered Pathān horsemen with fierce blood-shot eyes, and moustaches stained red with the *Amṛta*. They wore turbans of multiple folds over their carefully oiled locks, and carried a bow in the hand and a quiver at the back of the shoulder.<sup>13</sup> They were led by chiefs who drew a monthly allowance of five thousand *Śūkrāya* varahas each.<sup>14</sup> Other companies of Mussalman troops with rolling blood-shot eyes and hoarse mouths followed them. They put on turbans of fine faced cloth, and had a *Kamarkhā* fastened over a long jacket in which they were dressed. They carried each a pair of Rūmi daggers, beside a sword which had been recently tempered. They drove their mares before the king and offered him salutes.<sup>15</sup> The Kshatriyas of the *Kaṭṭāṁ* came next. They wore a turban with a skirt dangling on the back, the coating of sandal with which they besmeared their bodies cracked into numerous flakes; they carried a falcon perched on their forearm and were armed with a sword and a short spear. They were accompanied by young pages and ponies loaded with their baggage.<sup>16</sup> They were followed by shieldsmen who bore a rope of twisted yellow cloth and balls on the legs, and a black mark (*āḍṇu*) on the forehead as symbols of their heroism. They were dressed in a trouser which was held in place by a sash. Holding the sword which was half-drawn from the sheath by the hilt, the shieldsmen passed in front of the king with great clamour.<sup>17</sup> After them marched the sturdy Bōyas like black tigers, dressed in coloured cloth. Over a belt of black cloth, they wore a sword with tassels. They carried drawn bows decorated with silver bands in their hands, and quivers at the back of the shoulder which gave a for-

11. *Kundalayanaccharitram* 3: 46.

12. *Chandrabhānuccharitram* 3: 35. *Rajavāhaka Vijayam* 1: 48.

13. *Rajavāhaka Vijayam* 2: 2.

14. *Ibid.* 3: 13.

15. *Ibid.* 2: 52.

16. *Rajavāhaka Vijayam* 2: 25.

17. *Ibid.* 2: 54.

ward thrust to their turban.<sup>18</sup> They were followed by a troop of warriors armed with clubs. They wore on their arms iron rings which produced as they moved a clanging sound.<sup>19</sup> The foot soldiers marched in the rear accompanied by the king. They were a body of war-worn veterans with hardened scars of old wounds upon their chest. Particles of fine gold sparkled on their incisors which were carefully polished so as to impart sharpness to the edges. On their forehead shone the mark of white clay (*hīramāṣi*) of Kōṭikunṣa, straightened with some deliberation; on their arms they had amulets fastened as tokens of love by handsome women; and over the curls of their hair arranged into a knot on the top of their crown was a cloth of single fold. They were armed with a dagger stuck into the girdle of some soft stuff, a sword visible over the yellow cloth they wore, and a lance which they probably carried in one of their hands.<sup>20</sup> In addition to these there were musketeers, archers and a troop of elephants having its own commander.<sup>21</sup> The Velama and Kamma chiefs who held all the forts of the kingdom as *unmaḥāsas* joined the army.<sup>22</sup>

A large concourse of camp followers accompanied the army. The merchants who sold all the necessary articles to the troops whenever necessary;<sup>23</sup> the wives of soldiers, officers and the king, and a huge assembly of courtesans including the king's mistresses; all travelled with the army.<sup>24</sup>

The march of the troops caused much damage to the countryside, as they destroyed the fields of green gram, millet, melon, bajra and ragi.<sup>25</sup> The rice fields were trampled down by the cavalry, and the water of the irrigation tanks was sucked dry by the infantry.<sup>26</sup> And forests were cut down to make roads for transporting the artillery wagons.<sup>27</sup>

At the end of a day's march the army usually halted. And the tent of the king was set up;<sup>28</sup> and shops were arranged into wide bazaars. The soldiers busied themselves with making arrangements for the night's rest. Some set up tent poles and spread over them cloth with pictures in golden colour printed thereon; some erected staves and built temporary huts with leaves and reeds; setting up three spears so as to form a trigon, some covered them with their own cloths; some who were more active scraped away with spades the undergrowth in the bushes and settled down there; some went in search of water; and some

18. *Ibid.* 2: 55.

19. *Rajarahasaviṣayam* 3: 57.

20. *Ibid.* 6: 13.

21. *Rajarahasaviṣayam* 3: 58, 53.

22. *Ibid.* 2: 57.

23. *Ibid.* 2: 54.

19. *Ibid.* 2: 56.

21. *Ibid.* 5: 15, 17, 19.

22. *Kolāparṇapadāraṇṇam*, 8: 42, 43.

23. *Ibid.* 2: 55.

24. *Kaṇḍavyasācharitraṇṇam* 8-10.

25. *Ibid.* 2: 105.

laughed and clapped their hands to scare away the reptiles and other noxious creatures.<sup>30</sup> The smoke generated by the smouldering hearth intensified the darkness; however, in place where the fires burst into flames fanned by the breeze, it was as bright as the day; the odour of the gruel strained from the boiling rice combined with the flavour of the meat roasted over the camp fires filled the atmosphere; and the horror of flying the antelopes that had been killed became unbearable.<sup>30</sup>

The screaming sound of the iron styles of the secretaries (*pragaxams*) busily engaged in drafting letters to all necessary quarters; the whispers of the ministers (*amātyas*) conning the affairs of the king; the tumult of the spies waiting to convey information about the condition of the enemy; the outcry of the guard telling off men for sentry duty; and the ding-dong of the drums of the music bands awaiting the king's appearance to dance, pervaded the atmosphere around the white tent where the king slept.<sup>31</sup> The foot-soldiers of the guard fell into small groups and attempted to divert themselves with song and gossip. One of them sang the songs of the shepherds inspired by the deity, while the others listened to him with rapt attention; and another played upon the *chēngu* swinging his head in the manner of a snake charmer; another narrated the story of Dharmarāja without caring for accuracy; and a fourth sounded the *dhakkā* neglecting the requirements of pace (*laya*) and time (*tāla*). They paid very close attention to the slightest sound and scrutinised their surroundings. They related to one another how disconsolate their sweethearts were when they heard the news of their departure to the front.<sup>32</sup>

The march of the army is not without its hardships. A campaign especially in the rainy and the winter seasons appears to have been regarded as an unmitigated evil. "It is not possible," says one author, "to remain calm when a person contemplates the fear that besets the mind on hearing the sound of the marching drum no sooner than he settles down to take rest; the severity of the scorching sun while advancing by forced marches through a waterless, desolate tract; the grief engendered by the flight of the sumpter-bullock casting off the baggage at the sight of an elephant; the fast rendered inevitable by the collapse of the hearth owing to the inundation of the floor of the kitchen-tent with flood-water; and the unavoidable feeling of sadness caused by the occasional recollection of the dear ones at home."<sup>33</sup> "A campaign in winter is an affliction. The dew drops dripping from the *bandāra* leaves of the roof of the shed soaks the sheet covering the body; the sleep on the wet mud of the just

30. *Ibid* 2: 107.

31. *Kavāḍagaṇaśharitram* 2: 109.

32. *Ibid* 2: 117.

33. *Rajavāḍagaṇaśharitram* 2: 65.

erected pial turns the body cold like the stem of a water-lily and produces aches; the cold blast laden with particles of dew rushing in from all sides produces shivering even in the centre of the shed; and the watch over the void expecting the king's arrival enhances the suffering caused by the cold. The income derived from a stationary office is far better than the service in the army."<sup>34</sup>

The foregoing account of a military expedition is based upon the material extracted from Telugu literary works. Much of the information is derived from the *Rajamahatmyayam* and the *Kavalayatancharitram*, though it has been supplemented here and there with material gathered from other sources. A comparison of this account with the description of the Vijayanagara army left by Paez, Nuniz, Barbosa and other foreign travellers shows clearly that Telugu writers freely imported into the professedly mythological stories a good deal of information of the economic, political, social and religious institutions of their age. Therefore, a careful and critical study of Telugu literature is expected to add much to our knowledge of the history not only of the Telugu country but of the whole of South India.

The investigation of the Telugu literature from a historical standpoint cannot be usefully undertaken without proper equipment. Although money plays but a little part in an investigation of this kind, the worker in this field must have at his command another kind of wealth without which no tangible results can be produced. He must possess a mind filled with the wealth of knowledge. Here, as in the spiritual world, to him that has more shall be given. A nascent mind like a clean sheet of glass is incapable of reflecting an image.

One of the most important requirements of a researcher carrying on investigation in the field of literature from a historical standpoint is a fairly sound knowledge of history. A mere acquaintance with political history, i.e., the history of kings, wars, and court intrigues, is not quite adequate. Though a knowledge of political history is necessary, it cannot satisfy all the demands of his work. In addition to a knowledge of the political history an investigator must have some idea of the social, economic and religious conditions as well as the level of culture which the community has attained.

Otherwise, a good deal of what he finds in the field of his work fails to strike any fire in his mind. The anachronistic reference, for instance, to Ēkavirā, Warangal, and the Kātatīyas in one of the thirty-two tales of Vikramārka which the images guarding the steps of his throne narrated to king Bhōja of Dīḥra<sup>35</sup> cannot provoke thought in the mind of an investigator who is not acquainted with the history of the



Telugu country nor does the allusion to the Malāvrati by Rati while bewailing Manmartha<sup>35</sup> can have any significance to one who is ignorant of the sectarian differences among Śīlas.

Moreover, a knowledge of the history of literature is as important as that of political history. In the first place, a person who engages himself with the study of literature must be quite certain of the chronology of writers whose works he undertakes to study; for, without an established chronology no scientific study of literature is possible. Secondly, an intimate acquaintance with the literary movements and the underlying currents of thought contributes to a clearer understanding of facts. Therefore, an investigator must have a thorough grasp of the circumstances leading to the genesis and growth of literary movements. Rāmarājāhūṣana's assertion that a mixed theme, (*miśra katha*) i. e., an ancient theme embellished by the creative faculty of a (modern) poet resembles a gem cut and polished<sup>36</sup> may be taken up for consideration in this context. This statement not only alludes to the movement which gave birth to several *prabandhas* like the *Vaṇacharitra* but explains the principle underlying their composition. The poets of this age selected a theme from some *purāṇa* and re-told it in their own way, decorating it with ornaments manufactured by their contemporaries. No doubt, the *prabandhas* are the result of the creative genius of the poets; but the material on which it has worked has been obtained from the society to which the poets themselves belonged. A knowledge of this fact facilitates considerably the search for historical material in literature.

Besides, a knowledge of Sanskrit is desirable as it contributes to a thoroughly satisfactory examination of Telugu literary works; for, not only has the Telugu vocabulary been largely derived from Sanskrit but Telugu literary compositions are profoundly influenced by Sanskrit grammar, poetry, poetics and prosody. Moreover, a large part of Telugu literature consists of translations from Sanskrit originals. It must be pointed out in this context that these so-called translations are seldom true to the original. They leave out what is uninteresting and dull, abridge much that cannot be ignored and add considerably to the original in order to increase its beauty and charm, so that the translation, though it bears the same name and treats of the same subject as the original, differs considerably from it as a work of art. Apart from artistic considerations, these Telugu translations have an additional point of interest. Much of the new material that is incorporated bears the impress of the age to which the translator-redactor belongs; consequently it has

35 The *Sinhāsanaudvṛttimāta* 6: 156-8.

36 The *Kumarasambhavam* 4: 435.

37 *Vaṇacharitra* 1: 19.

something to tell of the social and economic conditions of the age. A comparison of the translation with the original enables the researcher to separate without difficulty the redactor's contribution from the older matter, which he can utilise for historical purposes, if it is found satisfactory on examination.

A tale from the *Pratishastana* is cited hereunder to illustrate the manner of translation of Sanskrit works into Telugu. This work has been translated by three or four ancient writers of whom Baicharāju Venkṭapati, a writer of the 16th century, is the most important from our point of view, as his work deviates considerably from the Sanskrit original. Therefore, a comparison of his translation with the original is expected to show how Telugu writers have made use of the Sanskrit works which they profess to translate.

#### TALE OF DUSHTABUDDHI AND DHARMABUDDHI

##### *A summary of the story as given in the Sanskrit text.*

Once, two merchants' sons called Dushṭabuddhi and Dharmabuddhi who were friends, went abroad to seek their fortune. During their peregrinations, Dharmabuddhi found a pot containing a thousand silver dinars buried by some money-lender in the past. He consulted Dushṭabuddhi, and on his advice, both of them resolved to return home. As they approached their native city, Dushṭabuddhi suggested to Dharmabuddhi that they should take one hundred dinars each and bury the rest underneath a certain tree. Dharmabuddhi consented; and having taken a hundred dinars each, they buried the rest and went home. At the end of one year, however, Dushṭabuddhi who had completely spent his share approached his partner and suggested that they might take again hundred dinars apiece. Dharmabuddhi raising no objection, they did likewise. Dushṭabuddhi, who spent away his share at the end of the second year, having made up his mind to appropriate the remaining money for himself went alone to the place where the money was concealed, and took it home without his friend's knowledge. After the lapse of about a month's time, he repaired to Dharmabuddhi and proposed that they should now divide the remainder of the hoard evenly between themselves. Dharmabuddhi, having agreed, they went up to the tree and looked for the treasure in vain. Dushṭabuddhi thereupon charged his friend with theft and both of them went to the royal palace to seek justice. When they stated their case, both of them were detained by the officers of justice. After five days Dushṭabuddhi communicated to them that he had a witness, viz., the tree under which the treasure was buried, and that it would bear testimony in support of his statement. Thereupon, the judges enlarged both the parties on surety and intimated that they would examine the witness next morning.

Dushṭabuddhi having reached his home persuaded his old father to go at night to the tree, creep into its hollow and give an answer

favourable to him when questioned by the judges. He did accordingly. Next morning the officers of justice proceeded to the tree, and after reading the law books before the tree in the presence of the officials and ministers or citizens (*prakṛitā*), questioned it. The answer issued from the hollow of the trunk that Dharmabuddhi had stolen the money. The judges were astonished; and Dharmabuddhi who was beside himself with rage on hearing this unjust accusation, gathered dried leaves and twigs and casting them into the hollow, set fire to the tree. And when the flames burst forth, Duṣṭabuddhi's father jumped out of the hollow half burnt, and having confessed the truth gave up the ghost. And the officers of the king having perceived the truth commanded that the money should be handed over to Dharmabuddhi and that Duṣṭabuddhi should be mounted upon the stake.

#### *A Summary of the Telugu Translation.*

There lived in a city a merchant called Dharmabuddhi; and he had a friend of the name of Duṣṭabuddhi. He found, on one occasion, a thousand *dīnars* in a place. And as he was not inclined to hide the matter from his friend, he informed him of the discovery. Duṣṭabuddhi said that it was not advisable to carry the treasure home as it might rouse suspicion; he thought that it was wise to deposit it in a pot and bury it under a *kāśora* tree, which stood on the boundary of his city. Not suspecting that Duṣṭabuddhi was intent on defrauding him Dharmabuddhi accepted the advice; and having taken a few *dīnars*, buried the rest, as advised, under the tree and went home accompanied by his friend. The evil-minded Duṣṭabuddhi left his house at midnight and went alone without being seen by the people of the city towards the tree; and having scattered buff, he unearthed the treasure and carried it home in great haste. A few days later, he met Dharmabuddhi and expressed his apprehension about the safety of the hoard. This roused suspicion in the mind of Dharmabuddhi, and he went together with his friend to the tree but he found that the treasure had vanished. Thereupon he accused his friend of having stolen the money. Duṣṭabuddhi who was thus openly charged with theft grew indignant and dragged his accuser to the place of public assembly (*racon*). He entered the city dragging Dharmabuddhi with him; and having resolved to seek justice, (*dharma*) he assembled elders of the city (*pīṁṣa-paddalu*). The elders who knew the law looked at both the parties, and commanded them to state their respective cases, without hesitation, clamour and mutual interruption in a lucid manner so as to make all the details clear.

Then Dharmabuddhi turned towards the members of the *saṁhā*, and raising both his hands in salutation to his forehead, said, "We had been friends for a long time. One day, I found a pot full of *dīnars*, and I communicated the information to Duṣṭabuddhi, like a fool that I was. He advised me to bury the pot at the foot of a tree, and I did likewise. A few days later he told me that his mind was filled with apprehension and suggested that we should go and have a look at the money. We went to the place, and found that the hoard had vanished. Then I told him that he had stolen the money and demanded that he should give it back to me. Thereupon, he grew angry and calling me names, dragged me before you. This is all that I have to say."

Dharmabuddhi stopped talking. Duṣṭabuddhi then saluted the judges of the *dharmaśāstra* and said, "What Dharmabuddhi has said is

perfectly true excepting his charge that I have stolen the money. I swear by the tree that I have not touched the money."

Having heard both the sides, the judges said "What is the use of wrangling? We grant you five days' time. Come again on the sixth day and explain the facts to us with a clear mind." On hearing this, Dushṭabuddhi declared "There is no need for an adjournment, nor for vain wrangle. I have a witness in the tree at the foot of which the treasure was buried." The learned men (*Vidyajñāna*) were astonished at this statement and promised to hear the evidence of the tree next morning. The parties went to their homes.

That night Dushṭabuddhi persuaded his old father to go and hide himself in the hollow of the tree and give an answer favourable to him when the judges questioned the tree. His father complied with his request, and walking up to the tree at midnight crept into its hollow like an owl. Next morning, the elders summoned both the parties, and went to the tree accompanied by them. Having offered worship to the tree they asked it respectfully to tell them which of the two litigants was dishonest. Dushṭabuddhi's father replied from within the hollow that Dharmabuddhi was dishonest. On hearing this, Dharmabuddhi was beside himself with rage. Having collected dried leaves and straw, he cast them into the hollow of the tree and set fire to it. Being suffocated by smoke and half burnt by fire, Dushṭabuddhi's father jumped out of the hollow and reviling his dishonest son gave up the ghost.

The officers of the king, then, turned indignantly towards Dushṭabuddhi and cried, "O *Kṛmāṣṭi* slave that cannot repay the money, advanced without considerations of its recovery; O *Valjñā* blood sucker, who defrauds trusting customers by stealthily decreasing the quantity of articles purchased on loan for domestic consumption; O hateful beggar, that thrusts hollows without holes in the *oṣṭā* and *giddā* measures of other people; O vessel of wickedness who prays for famine in order to plunder grain and sell it dearly and O dog of a *seṭhi*, the embodiment of cruelty, that borrows money and without repaying it easily strikes a balance by selling cloth, nuts, and other articles".

Having thus abused, the officers of the king caused the money to be paid to Dharmabuddhi and mounted Dushṭabuddhi up on a stake.

The Telugu version differs from the Sanskrit text in many details. The most noteworthy difference is found in the description of the judicial tribunal that decided the dispute between the merchants. According to the Sanskrit text, both the disputants went to the royal palace to seek justice. On hearing their statements, the judges ordered them to be kept in prison, but on Dushṭabuddhi undertaking to produce a witness on the fourth day they were released on bail. On the next morning when they proceeded to examine the evidence of tree, the law books were read before the tree in the presence of the king's officers of justice and the ministers (or citizens). When the truth was ultimately discovered, the officers of justice commanded that the money should be handed over to Dharmabuddhi and that Dushṭabuddhi should be mounted on the stake.

The Telugu translator introduces a new mechanism of justice. According to him, Dushṭabuddhi one of the disputants dragged his opponent to the place of public gathering (*raṅga*) in the city; and having

secured his consent to get their dispute settled according to law, assembled the elders (*pinna paddala*) and requested them to hear their case. The elders who were proficient in the law (*dharmaśāstri*) commanded both the parties to make their representations individually, without hesitation, clamour, or mutual interruption, in such a manner as to make all the details quite clear. Then both parties turned towards the assembly (*sabha*), offered salutations to the people seated in the seat of justice (*dharmaśāstrasthāna*) and made their respective depositions one after another. The judges adjourned the case to the sixth day; but on Dushābuddhi undertaking to support his position by the testimony of a witness, viz., the tree, the learned-men (*vidvājjunāḥ*) promised to hear the case next morning. That night, Dushābuddhi persuaded his father to conceal himself in the hollow of the tree, and give a suitable answer to the assembly of the learned (*Parishajjama*). Next morning, the elders summoned the parties and with them proceeded to the tree which they questioned. Dushābuddhi's father gave false evidence on behalf of the tree and perished from its consequences. Then the officers of the king stepped in to denounce the wily habits of the Kōmāṭis (for which there is no warranty in the Sanskrit text) and executed the judgment of the court.

The reason for the introduction of new material does not concern us at present. What is of immediate interest is to search for the source from which the translator has obtained it. *Pinna paddala*, going to seek *dharma*, *dharmaśāstra*, *sabhaśāstrāṇi*, *sabha*, *vidvājjama*, *parishat* etc. are terms which frequently occur in the inscriptions and legal documents of the Vijayanagara period preserved in the village *kaṇḍyala* and *danda-kuvila*. Balcharāja Venkaṭanātha, the author of this translation, was a subordinate of Vijayanagara kings and he seems to have flourished under Achyutaśastrya and Sadāśiva. It is obvious that Venkaṭanātha grafted on the old *Panchatantra* the machinery of the judicial administration of the Vijayanagara empire with which he and his contemporaries were familiar.

A knowledge of Sanskrit is also useful otherwise. In the first place, it widens the extent of the field of investigation, and renders the increase of the information necessary for the reconstruction of the history possible. Take, for instance, the Sanskrit works produced under the Rāyas of Vijayanagara. They throw much needed light upon obscure problems and afford considerable insight into the administrative, social and economic conditions of the country. The *Yogānandaprahasana* of Arunagiripāṭha Dindima states that the punishment for committing adultery with a married woman is death by impalement; and if the committer of the crime happens to be a Brahman, he must not be impaled but blinded and branded with an instrument known as dog's foot. It also indicates that the father and the husband of the woman are liable to be punished with exile. Similarly, the *Śṛṅgāra-dhāraṇa* of Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāpi has some interesting information to offer about the life in the capital. It alludes to a practice prevalent among the rich citizens of Vijayanagara of contracting temporary marriage alliances with courtesan women. The terms of the contract seem to have been embodied in a document called *Kaṭārapatra* which was allowed to remain in the possession of the courtesan. The breach of the terms of this contract constituted an offence cognizable by law, and the parties might resort to a court of law, (*sabha*) to seek redress. Besides, the

*Sringarabhāṣya* incidentally mentions duelling, and popular amusements such as wrestlings and cock and ram fighting.<sup>38</sup>

The Sanskrit works also throw light occasionally on what is obscurely hinted at by the Telugu authors. The practice of striking a metallic gong to indicate the passage of the *Gaḍiyas* is alluded to in many Telugu works.<sup>39</sup> An instrument for measuring time called the *gaḍiya kuḍuka* (the saucer or cup of *gaḍi*) which submerged under water is also referred to,<sup>40</sup> though nothing is said about the way in which it worked. Rājānātha Dīndīma explains the manner of its working in the following passage: "If the disc of the sun", says he, "had not been perforated by the kings forcefully slain on the battle-field by the sword which resembled the plaited locks of the Goddess of Victory in the hand of which the king of praise worthy acts (*Achyutadēva*), would the Sun who descended into the cauldron of the sky, filled with the flood of the king's pure fame, have become the be-jewelled vessel which measures the minutes of the day."<sup>41</sup>

It is evident from this that *gaḍiya kuḍuka* was a shallow cup with its bottom perforated, floating in a cauldron full of water. The water in the cauldron leaked gradually into the cup through the perforations and filled it up within a *gaḍi* when it submerged. Thus we get an accurate description of the manner of working of the *gaḍi kuḍuka* or water clock. Instances of this kind can be multiplied; but what is said is enough to show how very useful and necessary a knowledge of Sanskrit is to a toiler in the field of history.

Great caution, however, must be exercised in gathering information from literature and utilising it for the purposes of history, for, the material pertaining to different ages comes heaped up in an indiscriminate mass. To sift the available material, and to select what is relevant to any given topic under investigation, patience, wide scholarship, and sound judgment coupled with considerable critical acumen are needed. The investigator has to test the information he has collected from every point of view before he makes up his mind to use it in reconstructing ancient history.

38. *Sringarabhāṣya*. The Kavyamala Series.

39. *The Kridābhāṣyam*, p. 51. V. P. Sastri's edition.

40. *Kausalyasaṃhita*, 2:125.

41. *J. A.* xiv, p. 134 I am indebted for the translation of the passage to Dr. V. Raghavan.



## THE ANANDA & VISHNUKUNDIN KINGS OF ANDHRADESA.

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Some of my views regarding the Ānanda and Viṣṇukundin kings of the Andhra country have recently been criticised by Mr. V. S. Ramachandramurti in *J.A.H.B.S.*, X, pp. 187-91; XI, pp. 23-26. I have very little to say against his criticisms, as, excepting only one or two, I cannot, unfortunately, consider any of his arguments convincing and acceptable. I may therefore simply refer the learned readers of the *Journal* to the particular chapters of my monograph, *Successors of the Śātavāhanas in the Eastern Deccan*, which have been criticised. To illustrate my position, I shall just mention two points in which my critic has differed from me:

(1) Without evidence of an exceptionally positive character, I cannot believe in the fact (nay, I even consider it absurd) that there may have lived two performers of eleven Āśva-sūddhas and thousand Agniśiḥmas (Kratus) of the same name, family and period. I have therefore supposed that the Viṣṇukundin king named Mādhavavarman, credited with the celebration of eleven Āśva-sūddhas and thousand Kratus in all records of the family, was one and the same person. Unfortunately, my critic believes it to be "not a very strong argument" (*op. cit.*, X, p. 193). I cannot help it.

(2) The Ānanda king Dāmodaravarman is called *Saṃyak-sambuddhgyosya pāṇa sandhyāta*, and I naturally supposed him to have been a Buddhist. He is called *sandhyā-gosahasra-ānabā hiraṇyagarbha-sūddhas-sūddhas*, the natural interpretation of which is "one whose father was a performer of the Gōsahasra and Hiraṇyagarbha mahādāna." My critic however thinks that Dāmodaravarman was a Hindu (because he granted a village in favour of Brāhmaṇas) and a performer of the Gōsahasra mahādāna, (*op. cit.*, XI, p. 29). I hope, our learned readers will kindly excuse me if I fail to appreciate the cogency of such ingenious suggestions.

Of his suggestions, I gladly accept one. The Ānandas were possibly subdued or supplanted by the Pallavas, and not by the Śālaṅkāyanas, as previously suggested by me. I am glad to note Mr. B. V. Krishnarao's views (not known to me previously) regarding the position of Mādhavavarman (II) of the Ipur grant (No. 2) and the interpretation of Trikūṭa-malaya mentioned in that record, which do not appear to be unreasonable.

I should however thank my critic for his drawing my attention to the published text of the Chōzaria inscription mentioning the Ānanda king (I do not like the expression "Ānanda gōra king") Kanders. The record was not available to me up till the other day. I do not, however, fully agree with him in the interpretation of the record; but the points in which I differ from him may be discussed elsewhere.

Mr. Ramachandramurti thinks that, like Dāmodaravarman, the Ikṣvāku kings were "pure Hindus". Ikṣvāku Cāntamūla I performed Brahmonical sacrifices and was evidently a Hindu. We cannot however be definite as regards the faith of Virapurisadatta and Cāntamūla II, although the known female members of their family were Buddhist as they adored the Buddha and some of them were keen to get Nirvāṇa. This fact, I admit, may not be strong evidence to prove that the successors of Cāntamūla were Buddhist; but the suggestion that they were "pure Hindus" is even less convincing. It may be significant that, the epithet *virapākha-pati-mahāsama-paripakṣa* is applied only to Cāntamūla I, but not to his son or grandson.

It is moreover curious that, in my critic's opinion, the Buddha was "considered as deity in the Hindu pantheon" by the beginning of the fifth century A. D. I am afraid, the suggestion is against all evidence. I may only request my critic to go deeper into the subject and to study at least the works on the activities of Śaṅkarācārya and his followers and the records of the 7th century Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang. As I have elsewhere suggested, the performance of Āśvamedha and epithets like *Dharma-mahārāja* and *Kalīyuga-doj = āśvamedha-dharm-śūlāraṇa-niṣṭha-sannoddha* appear to prove that some South Indian kings fought for the cause of their Brahminical faith which had been overshadowed by heretical doctrines like Buddhism. Besides some admittedly late interpolated passages of the *Mahābhārata*, *Hariṣamśa* and the *Purāṇas*, (cf. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 165) the Buddha is recognised as an *Avatāra* only in very late works, e.g., in the *Viṭṭagovinda* of Jayadēva who lived in the 12th century A. D.

## AN EARLY MARATHI PASSAGE FOUND IN TELUGU LITERATURE

DR. C. NARAYANA RAO, M.A. Ph.D. (Anantapur.)

Palkuriki Sōmanātha was a great Viśvaśiva poet who had written several poetical works in Telugu. He is also reported to be a good poet in Kannada, but the few Kannada works that are attributed to him and are now extant do not bear the stamp of the genius exhibited by him in his Telugu works. He is however, held in the highest esteem as a religious leader both in the Telugu and the Kannada countries.

His chief works in Telugu are the *Basavapurāṇa* and the *Maṇikāraṇa Paṇḍitārādhyāya Charitra*. Of these two, the latter is the bigger one and Sōmanātha's erudition and poetical excellence find their highest and finest expression in it. It contains a mine of information on many topics.

Sōmanātha is assigned to about 1190 A. D. At any rate, he cannot be later than the middle of the thirteenth century, Marāṭhi literature in its present shape was in the course of formation about this time. It may, therefore, interest Marāṭhi scholars to be informed that Sōmanātha who was reputed to be an "Aśṭa-bhāṣā-kavita-viśārada," one proficient in composing poetry in eight languages, had taken the occasion of his description of the pilgrimage of Paṇḍitārādhyāya to Śrīśalla to refer to the several groups of pilgrims hailing from different parts of India and in that connection showed his acquaintance with Marāṭhi by making the Mārāṭhi pilgrims speak in their own language. He calls the Mārāṭhi country the 'Āre-dāśa' and their language the 'Āre-bhāṣa', by which names they are still sometimes known in the Telugu country.

I am now engaged in editing the *Paṇḍitārādhyāyacharitra*. The printing is almost finished, but it has stopped short at the point where the Mārāṭhi passage occurs. It is unfortunate that the scribes of palm-leaf manuscripts were ignorant of the Mārāṭhi language, and naturally so, of that of the beginning of the thirteenth century; and so each of them wrote the lines each in his own way, so that all sense has been taken away out of them. The work was translated line by line and very literally into Sanskrit by one Gururāja Kari, but it is a pity that he has skipped over this portion of the work, apparently because he could not understand the passages. In the absence, therefore, of proper help in both these directions, I had written to some Mārāṭhi scholars who, too, could not render me any help in restoring the Mārāṭhi lines under investigation. I am therefore obliged to fall on my own resources to emend the lines as best as I can, but in the absence of specimens of the twelfth or the thirteenth century Mārāṭhi, I am not sure of the

correctness of my emendations. I leave it to scholars of Mārāṭhi to make what use they can of the manuscript readings given below and the emendations that I have suggested.

The lines given below are 'Dvipada' lines peculiar to Telugu. A 'Dvipada' is a couplet with a *prāsa*, or same consonant, but not necessarily in combination with the same vowel at the second place of the two lines of the couplet, and either an ordinary 'yati' which in Telugu stands for the same consonant plus a corresponding vowel, or simply the 'prāsa yati' in which the consonant alone counts, but not necessarily the corresponding vowel, occurring at the place next to that of the ordinary 'yati'. Each line in a 'Dvipada' has three Indra-gapa's (nala, naga, bha, ra, ta, sala) and a Sūryagapa (na, ka or gala). Sōmanūtha has, in my opinion, curtailed and condensed Mārāṭhi forms to make them suit his metre.

### The Text.

#### Line 1. Readings—

- a. mā gā ra gā na kō ma ja bā pu ma pa ta
- b. mā gā ra ko na ka na ma ja bhā pu ma pa ta
- c. bhā lā gu ko na kō na ma ja bhā pu ma pa ta
- d. mā gā ta gā nā ko na ma ja bhā pu ma pa ta
- e. mā gā ra kō na kō na ma ja bā pu ma pa ta
- f. mā ga ra go na go na mā ja bā pu ma pa ta

My emendation: māga rahō nakō majha bāpu mhapata (saying 'Do not lag behind'.) The use of 'majha' for 'mābhā' is for metre.

#### Line 2. Readings—

- a. bhā ga va tē va tē bhā kta tē ma pa ta
- b. bhā ga va tē va tē bhā kta tē ma pa ta
- c. bhā ga va tē va tē bhā kta tē ma pa ta
- d. bhā ga vō tē va tē bhā kta tē ma pa ta
- e. bhā ga vō tē va tē bhā kta tē ma pa ta
- f. bhā ga va tē va tē bhā kta tē ma pa ta

My emendation: bhāgavatē vatē bhakta tē mhapata (Saying, 'I act as a devotee to you who are a 'bhāgavata'.')

#### Line 3. Readings—

a. The printed reading is 'chara-līnga guru-līnga Śambhūna manata'. There are no other readings. 'Śambhūna' in the line evidently stands for Mārāṭhi 'Śambhūn'

My emendation: chara-līnga guru-līnga Śambhūne mhanata (Saying, 'Oh! Śambhū's, in the forms of chara-līnga's and guru-līngas!')

#### Line 4. Readings—

- a. pu ra va ra ke to dū ri vu ru kha tē ma pa ta
- b. pu ra va ra ke ta dū ri pu ra ha tē ma pa ta
- c. pu ra va ra ke ta dū ri pu ra ha tē ma pa ta

- d. pu ra va ri ke ita dū ri pu ra kha te ma pa ta  
 e. pu ra va ra ke ita dū ri pu ra kha te ma pa ta  
 f. pu ra va ri ke ita dū ri pu ra kha te ma pa ta  
 g. pu ra va ra kha te dū ri pu ra kha te ma pa ta

My emendation: pura-vaṛa keti dūra para hōte rabaṇata (Saying, 'How far away is the best of cities?') 'hōte' for 'hōṛ' is for metre.

*Line 5. Readings—*

- a. a khi śi ri kai lā śi da kha dō ri ma pa ta  
 b. a khē śi ri kai lā sa da jhi kō re ma pa ta  
 c. a kha śi ri kai lā sa dī khi dō re ma pa ta  
 d. ā kha cha ri kai lā sa dē śi kō ma pa ta  
 e. a khi śi ri kai lā sa da kha dō ri ma pa ta  
 f. a khi śi ri kai lā sa da khi kō ra ma pa ta

My emendation: akhīśi Kailāsa dākhaśīla mhaṇata (Saying, 'Let us see Kailāsa, the treasure of the eyes,')

*Line 6. Readings—*

- a. su kha mu khā jā lō pu ra ru la yā ma pa ta  
 b. su khi mu khā lō ga vu ra khi yu mā ma pa ta  
 c. su kha mu khā lō pu ra kha a pa ma pa ta  
 d. su kha mu kha jā lō pu ra la lō na ma pa ta  
 e. su kha mu khā lō pu ra kha ya mā ma pa ta  
 f. su kha mu khā dā lā pu ra ru la yā ma pa ta  
 g. su kha mu kha jā lō pu ru kha lō ma pa ta  
 h. su khi mu khā lō ga vu ra kha ya mā ma pa ta  
 i. su kha mu khā jā lō vu mu kha a mā ma pa ta

My emendation: sukha mukhā jālōrō mukha āmcha mhaṇata (Saying, 'May our faces become happy?') 'āmcha' is a metrical curtailment for 'āmachā.'

Above the sixth line, certain manuscripts give an extra line, which, however, may be left as the corresponding line of the couplet is not forthcoming in any manuscript. Its readings are—

- a. ya khi vō re dē hīdī ba ya ppu lē lin ga  
 b. a khi śi ri kai lā sa śi kha ra mā yā ji  
 c. la kha śi ri kai lā sa śi kha ra mā śi ji  
 d. a khi le re dē vādi ba a ppu le lin ga

*Line 7. Reading—*

- a. ma ga ma hā rā ta kha ma ha dē vu yā ji  
 b. ma ga na hā ta ji ma ha dē vu yā ji  
 c. ma ga ma hā rā ta cī ma ha dē vu yā ji  
 d. ma ga ma hā rā ta bī ma ha dē vu yā ji  
 e. ma ga ma hā rā ta khi ma ha dē vu yā ji

My emendation: maga Mahārāṭha Mahādēvu āmcha. (Again, our Mahādēva of the Marāṭhas)

*Line 8. Readings—*

- a. ga ga ra rā rā śi ji kai lā sa yā ji  
 b. ga ga na rā rā śi ji kai lā sa yā ji

- c. ga ga na yā pā rā jī kai lā sa yā jī  
 d. ka ga na yū pā rā jī kai lā sa yā jī  
 e. ga na ga na ra na yā jī kai lā sa yā jī  
 f. ga ga na rā pā rā jī kai lā sa yā jī  
 g. ga ga na rā na yā jī kai lā sa yā jī  
 h. ga ga na rā na yā jī kai lā sa yā jī

My emendation: gagana-rāpā āmcha Kailāsa āmcha (Our king of the sky, our Kailāsa).

*Line 9. Readings—*

- a. a gha ma rā pā yā jī su khi dō vu yā jī  
 b. ya khi ma rā pī yā jī su khi dō vu yā jī  
 c. a kha ma rā pā yā jī su kha dō vu yā jī  
 d. a kha ma rā pā yā jī su kha dō vu yā jī  
 e. a khi ma rā pī yā jī su kha dō vu yā jī  
 f. a kha ma rā pā yā jī su kha dō vu yā jī

My emendation: akhuma-rāpā āmcha sukha dōvu āmcha (Our imperishable king, our god of bliss).

*Line 10. Readings—*

- a. su kha ka ra a pā chi āu bha dō vu yā jī

There are no other readings available. (He who gives us happiness, the god of welfare).

*Line 11. Readings—*

- a. a re thō vō hī bha ga ta a ppu vō līh ga  
 b. a khi (hō vō hī bha ga re a ppu vō līh ga  
 c. a ri re va hī bha ga ta a ppu vō līh ga  
 d. a khi vō re dō līh ga a ppu vō līh ga  
 e. a ra rē āi hō ba ga ta a ppu lō līh ga

My emendation: are thāva hō bhakta āpalō līhga (O bhakta, my līhga, tarry.)

*Line 12. Readings—*

- a. si ri gi ri ma lla yya pa ra ma di ya itta  
 b. si ri gi ri ma lla yya va ra ma di ya ita  
 c. si ri gi ri ma lla yya va ra ma di ya itta  
 d. si ri gi ri ma lla yya vi ra ma di ya ita  
 e. si ri gi ri ma lla yya cha ra ma di ya itta

My emendation: Sri-giri-Mallayya! charama diyanta (O Mallayya! Giver of release!)

*Line 13. Readings—*

- a. su kha lu la jī ti mā na lō kha la ba na chē  
 b. su kha tā la ga ti mā na ve kha la kha kha na chē  
 c. su kha tā la ja ga ti mā na vō kha la kha nī chē  
 d. su kha tā la ja ga ti mā na le kha la kha nī chē  
 e. su kha lu la jī ti mā na vō ba la kha na chē  
 f. su kha lu la jī ti mā na vō ga ta kha na chē  
 g. su kha tā la ga ti mā na le kha la kha kha na chē



h. su khu tā ja ja ī mā na jē khī la nū che

My emendation: sukha-tāja-jai-mānelā khēla nūche (I shall dance to the measures of the time and rhythm.)

*Line 14. Readings—*

a. ma kha ra ji ai ri gi ri ma lla yya rā na

b. ma kha ra chē

c. ma gha ra jē

d. ma ba ra ji

e. ma kha ra che

f. ma kha ra jē

My emendation: makhara jē Sirigiri-Mallayyarāna (O King Mallayya of Sirigiri! May you conquer again!)

*Line 15. Readings—*

a. ā lā nī ba dāha sa tā na gi tā cha

b. ā ja nī ba dāha sa ta nī ga tā che

c. ā lā nī ba dāha sa tā na gi tā che

d. ā lā nī ba dāha sa tā nī gi tā pi

e. ā lā nī ba dāha sa tā nī gi tā di

f. ā lā nī ba dāha sa tā nī gi tā cha

g. ā lā nī ba dāha sa tā nī gi tā cha

h. ā lā nī ba dāha sa tā nī gi tā cha

i. ā lā nī ba dāha sa tā nī gi tā cha

My emendation: ālā nībādāhana tāja gītādi (To the time measure and rhythm of songs.)

*Line 16. Readings—*

a. māā samarpāna mallayya rāni

No other readings are available. My emendation: māā samarpāna Mallayya rāni (O King Mallayya, who has been offered the garland!)

*Line 17. Readings—*

a. sra bha tā sarā tā pa sā ra nā ṭa ka ne

b. sra lūba tā sarā tā pa sarā tā pa nā ṭa ka ne

c. sra lūbi tā sarā tā pa sarā sā ra nā ṭa ka ne

d. sra bha nā tā pa sarā sā ra nā ṭa ka ne

My emendation: srabha-sarātāpa-sarā-sā-nāṭakane (With him who acts the drama of life full of all grief.) 'nāṭakan' for 'nāṭakanō' for the sake of metre.

*Line 18. Readings—*

a. vrabbata

b. vrabbita

c. vrachchata

a. sachchijā

b. sarvajā

c. parvajā

a. gādi

b. gāde

c. gāhdi

My emendation: prabbata mallayya prabbajā gāde (O Mallaya of the mountain! He who knows auspicious occasions! we sing.)

'gāto' for 'gātō' is for metre.

*Line 19. Readings—*

- a. u se ma pā pū ha ru jū ou chí tta  
 b. hañ śa mā pū pu pū ha ru bū ha chí tta  
 c. hañ śe ma pā pu pū ha ru bū nu tñt chí  
 d. lañ śa ma pā vu pū ha ru bū nī chí tti  
 e. luñ śe ma pā pu pū ha ru bū nu chí tta  
 f. añ śe ma pā pu pū ha ru jō nu chí tta  
 g. añ śē ma gā vu yī a ru jū nu chí tti

My emendation: āmchā magā puñi bara jāna chitta (Behind me, again, there is one with a mind which has known Hara.)

*Line 20. Readings—*

- a. u se ma hū bhā kta la rē sam me la  
 b. yañ śa ma hū bhā kta ya kha ne sam mō la  
 c. hañ sē ma hū bhā kta la kha ne sam me la  
 d. lañ sa ma hū bhā kta la kha ne sam me la  
 e. luñ sē ma hū bhā kta la kha ne sam mō śa  
 f. lañ śa ma hū bhā kta la kha ne sam me la  
 g. añ śe ma hū bhā kta ya kha ne sam me śa  
 h. añ śi ma hū bhā kta ś kha mā sam mō la

My emendation: āmchā mahābhakta akhila samamā (All the concourse of pilgrims who are great devotees is mine.) 'āmchā' is curtailed into 'āmchā' for metre.

*Line 21. Readings—*

- a. śa ra pa hē chí dva ra ja va li iē ma pa ta  
 b. śa ra pa hē chí pu ra ja va li iē ma pa ta  
 c. śa ra pa hē chí pu ra ja va li iē ma pa  
 d. śa ra pa hē chí pu ra ja va li ta va ma pa  
 e. śa ra pa hē chí pu ra ja va li iē ma pa ta  
 f. śa ra pa hē chí pu ri la va ri te da ma pa ta

My emendation: śarapa hē chidvara (jaraśa?) iē ma pa ta (Saying,) 'O Śarapa! O One possessed of Knowledge! to Thee am I near.' This line is even to me doubtful.

*Line 22. Readings—*

- a. ba ra su ki su ki tē ga va ra ma hē ji tta  
 b. va ra su khi su ri be ga va ra ma hē ji tta  
 c. va ra su ki be ga va ra du be ji tta

My emendation: vara-sukha sukhi mājha varada hē mahagata (Saying, 'O you who is happy with the best happiness! O my Giver of boons!')

I request scholars to give their attention to the above and try if they can evolve any good text out of the readings provided.

## THE MĀTHARA OR PITREHAKTA KINGS OF KALINGA.

Circa 350—Circa 480 A. D.

H. V. KRISHNA RAO, M.A., B.L.

From about the first century A. D. till the middle of the fourth century A. D. the history of Kalinga is completely enveloped in darkness. Kalinga must have been an integral part of the Andhra Empire under the Śrāvāhanas and later under the Ikshvākus. With the fall of the Ikshvākus Kalinga would appear to have become a prey to warring dynasties; and it continued to be so till about the middle of the fourth century A. D. The earliest record that refers to the sub-kings as contemporaries of the Emperor Samudragupta is the Allahabad inscription of the monarch. The inscription mentions amongst others four sub-kings of Kalinga, namely Mahēndra of Pishāpura, Svāmīdatta of Giri-kottūra, Damana of Īraṇḍipalla, and Kubēra of Dēvarāshṭra. It is probable that some of these kings were vassals of the Śālisthāyana king Hastivarman of Vēngi. The territory, in which these four principalities lay, apparently covered the entire Kalinga which was bounded by the Gōdavari on the south-west, Rabikulya on the north-east or north, the rivers Śubari and Tēlvāhā on the west and the sea on the east. Roughly this territory covers the modern Vizagapatnam, Ganjam and the northern portion of the East Godavari districts of the Madras Presidency, and the southern portion of the Bastar state as well. As these four 'kings' were mentioned as contemporaries of Samudragupta, they evidently flourished about the middle of the fourth century.

Shortly after the southern expedition of Samudragupta a new dynasty would appear to have sprung up into power and acquired paramount sway over the whole of Kalinga. Probably it was not a new dynasty; it seems likely that the kingdom of Pishāpura itself acquired sovereignty over the entire Kalinga during the reigns of the successors of Mahēndra. The new dynasty is known to history by the name *Māthara* *kula*. And it was apparently founded by Śaktivarman, the donor of the Rāgōlu plates.<sup>1</sup> The early southern characters and the Sanskrit language of the record clearly indicate that Śaktivarman must have reigned in the later part of the fourth century. It is therefore likely that he was a descendant of or a rival who had supplanted Mahēndra on the throne of Pishāpura and soon acquired the sovereignty of the entire Kalinga. Dr. Hultzsch who edited this grant read the name of Śaktivarman's dynasty as *Māgadhā-kulā* but recently an emendment has been proposed

<sup>1</sup> *A. I.* Vol. XII, pp. 1-3.

in the reading as *Māthara-kula*.<sup>2</sup> This reading is certainly, more reasonable than the older one, for Dr. Hultzsch read the letters, which were badly damaged, tentatively as *Māgadha-kula*.

The Māthara  
Dynasty and  
Śaktivarman.

The Rāgōla charter describes Śaktivarman as "the ornament of the *Māthara-kula*, as Vāsishṭhīputra" and lastly as the 'Lord of Kalinga'.

Evidently Śaktivarman and his ancestors adopted their *gotra* as their family name like many of their contemporaries, viz., the Brāhmapādyas, the Śālaakhyas, and the Anandas and called their family by the name *Māthara-kula*. The metronymic Vāsishṭhīputra also indicates that Śaktivarman was a descendant of the imperial Andhras and the Ikshvākus or at any rate copied and maintained the traditions of those earlier dynasties in his family. Śaktivarman's capital was Pishāpura; and from this city he would appear to have reigned over the whole of Kalinga. As the only record of his period is dated in the 13th year of his reign, his tenure on the throne, powerful though he was, may be assumed to have lasted about fifteen years. His reign may be placed about A.D. 350-365. It appears from his record that Kalinga was divided into three or four provinces and that one of them, Kalinga-vishaya lay, apparently on the banks of the Vathādāra and covered the modern Chikmagalur taluk. The other districts which epigraphy has brought to light are Dēvarasūtra,<sup>3</sup> Bhakirābja,<sup>4</sup> Kumartani-gīrāya<sup>5</sup> Varānavarta,<sup>6</sup> Kāpya-vishaya<sup>7</sup> and others. The Rāgōla plates record an edict by king Śaktivarman issued from his capital Pishāpura announcing to the inhabitants of Rākaluva in Kalinga-vishaya, obviously identical with Rāgōla in Chikmagalur taluk where the plates were discovered, that he had bestowed the village as an *agrahāra* to the brāhmana Kumārasarman of the Śāvarasa-gotra, which had the *pragra* of five *pahis*, and to his eight sons, to be enjoyed by them and their descendants in perpetuity, for the increase of his merit, longevity and power. The *agrahāra* of Rākaluva was exempted from the payment of all taxes and liabilities and from the entry of soldiers. The inhabitants of the village were also instructed to wait upon the donors and to supply them with all that had to be measured in grain and paid in gold to the sovereign according to immemorial custom.<sup>8</sup> The edict was dated on the fullmoon day of Vaiśākha in the 13th year of Śaktivarman's victorious reign. The

<sup>2</sup> A. S. I. 1914-55, pp. 62. Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, IAS, on the assumption that the dynastic name is *Māgadha-kula*, advanced a theory about the origin of the Dynasty, which is now rendered utterly useless. See *History of India* 150-350 A. D. pp. 127-128.

<sup>3</sup> C. P. No. 14 of 1905-09, and S. I. Vol. XXIII, p. 34 ff.

<sup>4</sup> S. I. Vol. XII, p. 1337.

<sup>5</sup> S. I. Vol. IV, p. 135.

<sup>6</sup> S. I. Vol. III, p. 127; See also S. I. Vol. XIII, p. 128.

<sup>7</sup> S. I. Vol. XVIII, p. 307.

executor of the charity was king himself; while the edict was composed by Arjunadatta the *Amātya*.

There is no definite information about the successors of Śaktivarman. But the dynasty after the death of that monarch would seem to have abandoned their seat at Pishāpura and made Sindhapura on the north their capital. The reasons for this are not forthcoming. Possibly the successors of Śaktivarman lost their southern provinces to their enemies the Śālanakāyana, and, therefore, were compelled to move into northern Kalinga. There the Māharas held sway till about the middle of the fifth century when they would appear to have been overthrown by another dynasty known by its *gōtra* appellation, the Vāsi-shthas. All that can be gleaned about the history

Successors of  
Śaktivarman

of the immediate successors of Śaktivarman is from a recently discovered copper-plate grant of Mahārāja Ananta-Śaktivarman issued from Vijaya-Sindhapura.<sup>8</sup> Palaeographically this record is later than the Rāgōlu plates of Śaktivarman and belongs roughly to the beginning of the fifth or the close of the fourth century A.D.<sup>9</sup> The composer of this inscription was Arjunadatta who bore the titles *Datākahapaśālādhikṛta* and *Talavara*. It is noteworthy that the name of the composer of this grant appears also in the Rāgōlu plates. It may not be improbable that the composer Talavara Arjunadatta was the same as the *Amātya* Arjunadatta the writer of the Rāgōlu charter.<sup>10</sup> It is also probable that the *Amātya* lived long till the date of Ananta-Śaktivarman's grant, rose in rank and dignity under the successors of Śaktivarman by dint of his devotion and ability and consequently came to hold the important offices of *Talavara* and *Datākahapaśālādhikṛta*. The peculiar double name of the king Ananta-Śaktivarman would seem to indicate that he was the son of Anantavarman and grandson of Śaktivarman I. It is quite possible that Śaktivarman II superseded the name of his father and thus called himself Ananta-Śaktivarman so as to distinguish himself from his grandfather whose name he bore. But this may not be the only reason. Nevertheless, these circumstances indicate that Anantavarman might be the son and successor of Mahārāja Śaktivarman (I) the donor of the Rāgōlu plates. There is no information about

8. Anantavarman.  
c. 360 A. D.

the reign of Anantavarman but it is probable that his reign was short

8 O. P. No 34 of 1934-35. See also Arch. Sur. of Ind. 1934-35, p. 65.

9 The learned Epigraphists Sri C. R. Krishnamacharia and Dr. N. P. Chakravarti take it that the characters of this record belong to the fifth century A. D. I am of opinion, however, that these must belong to a slightly earlier period, and, therefore, I have assigned the record to the closing years of the fourth century A. D.

10 I do not agree with the Government Epigraphist in holding that Talavara Arjunadatta might be a descendant of *Amātya* Arjunadatta, for the reason that the interval between the two charters seems to be short.

and disturbed, and that accordingly during that short period the Māthara dynasty lost the southern dominions of Kalinga together with their capital Pishāpura to their enemies who were probably the Śālikāyanas.

The successors of Anantavarman evidently consolidated their kingdom on the north with their capital at Vijaya-Sinhapura or Sinhapura. The place may be identified with the modern Singapuram or Singapuram, between Chikacole and Narasimhaneta in the Vizianapatam district.<sup>11</sup> There are altogether seven records of the successors of Anantavarman; and only in the earliest of them the family name Māthara appears. The legend *Ītrāśaktā* 'Devotee of (the feet of) the father' that appears on the seals of all the charters of this line of kings proves conclusively that all of them belong to one and the same family known as the Māthara dynasty and that they were the descendants of Ananta-Śaktivarman (II) of the Māthara family. The seven records of the dynasty are: The Madras Museum plates of Mahārāja Ananta-Śaktivarman,<sup>12</sup> Tiruṭṭhāna grant<sup>13</sup> and Kōmarī plates<sup>14</sup> of Chappāvarman, the Bhairavīśhta grant,<sup>15</sup> the Dhavalapāṭa<sup>16</sup> and the Tekkali plates<sup>17</sup> of Mahārāja Umavarman.<sup>18</sup> A noteworthy feature of the new dynasty of the Mātharas

The Māthara  
Dynasty of  
Kalinga.

Source:  
C.P. Grant.

is that the kings of this line dropped their family name in the next generation after the founder. In the formal preambles of their family charters and adopted the legend *Ītrāśaktā* as the legend on their royal seals. They evidently abandoned the custom of attaching the metronymic appellation like

Vāishāliputra and others to their personal names as in the case of the donor of the Rāgūṇa plates, according to the prevailing practice of that age, and adopted in its place quite peculiarly enough the manner of superadding the patronymic appellation to their personal names. This is best illustrated in the name of Ananta-Śaktivarman himself, the founder of the new dynasty on the throne of Vijaya-Sinhapura. Unlike the contemporary Śālikāyanas and other dynasties, the Mātharas attached to their names the epithets *Parama-Bhāgavataś* and *Parama-dāivataś* 'devout worshipper of the gods' in all their charters. More than anything else these epithets would seem to indicate the religious faith or the

<sup>11</sup> E. I. Vol. IV, p. 148. The identification is that of Dr. Hultsch.

<sup>12</sup> C.P. No. 31 of 1934-35; A.S.I. 1934-35, pp. 61-63. A.R.S.I.E. 1935, pp. 64-65.

<sup>13</sup> C. P. No. 34 of 1934-35; A.R.S.I.E. 1935; also A.S.I. 1934-35, p. 64.

<sup>14</sup> E. I. Vol. IV, p. 148, with plate.

<sup>15</sup> E. I. Vol. XII, p. 47.

<sup>16</sup> J.A.H.R.S. Vol. X, pp. 145-146.

<sup>17</sup> J.A.H.R.S. Vol. VI, p. 53-54. This grant is not properly edited in the text and is mostly indifferent and incorrect. The article is not accompanied by the facsimile of the plates. See A.R.S.I.E. 1935; Part II, p. 53, C.P. No. 33 of 1934-35.

<sup>18</sup> E. I. Vol. XXI, p. 327; J.A.H.R.S. Vol. XIV, p. 262f.



cosmopolitan out-look in matters of religion of the Mātharas. It would perhaps also suggest that the Mātharas were more or less liberal in their religion and had no prejudice for any particular deity. Except Mahārāja Chandavarman who, called himself in the earlier record of his reign *Paramabhāgavataś*, all the other kings of the family bore only the epithet *Paramadivinitaś*.

There is only a single record of Mahārāja Ananta-Śaktivarman or Śaktivarman II as he may be designated. The edict was issued from his capital Vijaya-Simhapura or Sishapura. Apparently the latter pronunciation alone lingered in the speech of the country and hence the place came to be called Singapuram. The monarch bore the epithet *Paramadivinita* and called himself the ornament of the Māthara-*kula*. In the 28th year of his reign he bestowed the gift of a village in the Viśākhavarmāśākhya to two Brāhmaṇa brothers called Nagaśarma and Dagaśarma of the Kātyāyana-gṛha. The grant mentions two *datas*, 'messengers', Śivabhōjaka and Vārudatta. Both of them would appear to be high officials of the kingdom: Śivabhōjaka bore the title *Kumārāmātya* and Vārudatta was referred to by his designations *Mahābalādhipā* and *Dandantī*. The functions of these offices are not quite clear from the charter; and these officers are not usually mentioned also in any treatise on Ancient Polity of the Deccan. Nevertheless it may be assumed that the title *Kumārāmātya* meant a 'junior minister,' in the Home Department, and in a like manner the titles *Mahābalādhipā* and *Dandantī* represented officers in charge of the defence of the realm and the Chief Justice respectively. The writer of the charter was Arjunadatta the *Deśakīhapatalādhipā* and *Talanara*. While the former title would seem to represent the officer in charge of the state archives, the latter is not clear. Perhaps, it (*Talanara*) meant, 'the chief magistrate.' At any rate the mention of the office *Talanara* is interesting and noteworthy, for it reminds us of the title *Mahātalavara* that occurs in the Ikshvāku inscriptions of Nāgārjunakonda and the Kādamūḍi plates of the Erhatphalayana king Jayavarman. As the grant is dated in his 28th year it is not improbable that he reigned for about 29 or 30 years. His period, therefore, might be roughly placed between 365 and 394 A.D.

Ananta-Śaktivarman's successor would appear to be Chandavarman, though the exact relationship between them cannot be known. It is probable that Chandavarman was the son of Śaktivarman II. The characters of the two records are undoubtedly more archaic than the alphabet of the records of Umavarman. The characters of the Kōmarti plates resemble closely those of the Peda-Vēgi grant of the Śālikāyana king Vijaya-Nandivarman II; and this circumstance clearly indicates that both the princes were more or less contemporaries, and flourished

in the beginning of the fourth century. As both the charters of Chandavarman are not dated beyond the sixth year of his reign, it would be reasonable to assume that his tenure on the throne

did not extend beyond six or seven years. Both the charters of Chandavarman give him the title

4. Chandavarman  
circa 394-420 A. D.

*Kalingapādpati*, 'the lord of Kalinga.' The earlier grant was issued from Vijaya-Simhapura on the 5th day of the red fortnight in the Grishma (Summer)

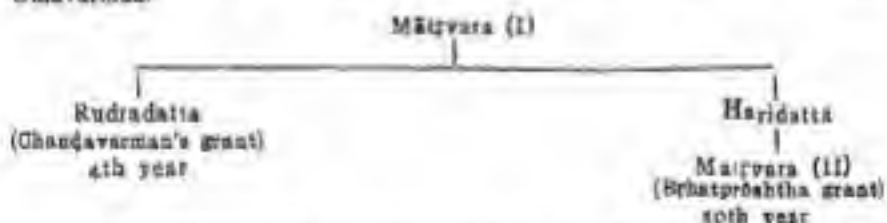
season of the 4th year of his reign. It registers the grant of the village Tirthāna as an *agrahara* to several Brahmanas. The king in this record is called *Parama-Bhagavata* which is somewhat peculiar. Another interesting point about this record is that it also refers to the thirty six *agraharas* found in the Bhixupreshtha grant of Umavarman. The engraver of this charter was *Dmakhapataladikrita* Rudrata son of Mūrtvara.<sup>19</sup> The second record, the Kōmarī plate, refers to the grant of the village of Kōhetūra as an *agrahara* to the Brāhmana Dēvaśarma of the Bhāradvāja-gotra, a student of the Vājāsaneya śākhā. This edict also was issued from the victorious city Simhapura. The village of Kōhetūra cannot be identified, for the *raṣṭra* or district in which it lay is not mentioned in the inscription. It originally formed part of the king's domain, and it was converted into an *agrahara* by the edict of the king which was announced by word of mouth. The grant was issued on the 5th day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra in the 6th year of his reign. Chandavarman like the Śālanīyana and other contemporaries called himself *Sappadhapate-padabhatta*; and this epithet clearly indicates the strong revival that came over the land with regard to the "worship or devotion to the father" in preference to the mother which was the prevailing practice of the previous Śātavāhana and Ikshvāku epochs. Chandavarman's reign was short, probably owing to the interruption caused by the enemies of the dynasty, who were perhaps the Śālanīyana and others, who cannot be identified now.

Chandavarman's successor was probably Umavarman.<sup>20</sup> The three records of his period were dated in the 9th and 30th years of his reign respectively. The earliest record was dated from Vijaya-Vardhamānapura. This locality cannot be identified now but judging from the place of discovery, which is in the north and near about Tekkali, the city must have stood somewhere in that region. The troubled condition of his reign probably compelled Umavarman to remove the seat of his government to Vardhamānapura early in his reign. The Tekkali plates record the grant of the village of Astihavēra as an *agrahara* to the Brāhmana house-holder, Vyāsa śarma of the Kāśyapa-gotra. The edict was issued by the king

<sup>19</sup> The charter is not published and therefore the information about it is necessarily meagre. *A. S. I.* 1934-35, p. 64.

<sup>20</sup> The learned Government Epigraphist, however, thinks that Umavarman might be a predecessor of Chandavarman. *A. S. I.* 1934-35, p. 64.

'by word of mouth' on the 7th day of the dark fortnight of Māgha in the 9th year of his victorious reign. The charter was engraved on copper-plates by Kṣṇavādēva, an inhabitant of Pīṣṭhāpura. This fact coupled with the discovery of the plates somewhere in the Tekkali taluk in the extreme north seems to indicate clearly that under Umavarmān also the Māthara kingdom of Kalinga extended from Pīṣṭhāpura on the south to the Mahāndragiri peak on the north. The Brhatprōshtha grant states that Umavarmān was the lord of Kalinga or *Kalingādhipati*, and that he bestowed the village of Brhatprōshtha, evidently a Sanskrit name for the original local name, on the Brāhmaṇa named Haridatta who belonged to the *Aupamanyava-gotra*, as an *agrahāra* with all the usual immunities. The village originally formed part of the king's domain in the *Dantāvāgu-śāṅga* or division; it was henceforth caused to be separated from it and joined to the division of the "Thirty six *Agrahāras*." The executor of the edict was Vāśudēva, and the writer was Mārvara, son of the donor Haridatta himself, who was the *Defāksa-paṇḍitaśhīrṣa*. The charter was issued from Vijaya-Sīṅhapura on the 20th day of Mārgaśīrṣa in the 30th year of the victorious reign. The date of this record is noteworthy as it shows that the king must have reigned at least for thirty years if not more. Curiously enough, here we have a clue to determine the order of succession of the Māthara kings. The unpublished grant of Chandavarman mentions a certain Rudradatta son of Mārvara; and the Brhatprōshtha grant mentions a certain Mārvara son of Haridatta. As the government Epigraphist for India rightly points out, Mārvara of the Brhatprōshtha grant would appear to be a descendant of Mārvara, father of Rudradatta. Accordingly there will give us the following genealogy of the *Defāksa-paṇḍitaśhīrṣa* of the reigns of Chandavarman and his successor Umavarmān:



The Dhavaḷapēṭa copper-plate grant of Mahārāja Umavarmān, curiously enough was dated from the same place Vijaya-Sīṅhapura and

21 A. S. I. 1931-32 Dr. N. P. Chakravarti thinks that Chandavarman of the grant dated in the 4th year must be different from Chandavarman of the donor of the Kōmarī plates. The difference in the writing on the plates may be due to the existence of both the styles in the land at that time. In my opinion, therefore, there would appear to have been only one Chandavarman and that Umavarmān was his successor.

on the same date as the Brāhmaprōshtha grant. The inscription records that Umavarman, the lord of Kalinga, converted the village of Kotūru in the Mahēnirabhōga vishaya into an *agrahāra* and bestowed it on the Brāhmaṇa householder Sryīlāsavāmin (2) of the Varas-gotra and a student of the Vājasaṇeyā śākhā. It would appear that the Brāhmaṇa donee was a *saka-pāṭhaka*, "co-student" of the king. The long reign of this monarch Umavarman would seem to show that it was a glorious period for the Māthara dynasty and that once more the king acquired sovereignty over the entire Kalinga. It will be seen that according to the scheme of chronology that has been adopted by us, Umavarman would become a contemporary of Vijaya-Skandavarman (circa 430-440 A.D.) the last of the Śālikakāyana. It was during his reign that the Śālikakāyanas were uprooted by the rising Vishnukundins under Mādhavarman I, the Great, the offerer of Eleven *Āvamañikā*s and a thousand *Arāṇas*, including the *Āṇasaya*. In that tumultuous period of confusion, the lord of Kalinga would appear to have restored the sovereignty of his house once more as far as Pāṭṭapura in the south.

The last known king of this line would appear to be Viśākha-varman, the donor of the Koroshapḍa copper-plate grant. The inscription may, on palaeographical grounds, be assigned to about the middle of the fifth century A. D. The alphabet of the plates resembles the characters of the contemporary Brāhmaprōshtha grant of Umavarman and the Ipūru plates of Mādhavarman II.<sup>22</sup> The record describes Viśākha-varman as *Puramadaśvataḥ* and *Bappathaffāraka-pādabhaktah*; but the title *Kalingapādāpatiḥ* is omitted. From this it

may be assumed, not unreasonably, that during the reign of Viśākha-varman, the Māthara dynasty was deprived of the sovereignty of the southern Kalinga, apparently by the powerful Vishnukundin monarch Mādhavarman I. The record registers the grant of the village of Tēḍpōyaka in the Koroshapḍaka vishaya or Koroshapḍaka panchali to five Brāhmaṇas, of the Ārēya-gotra, namely Vishṇuśarman, Br̥h̥sh̥thidarman, Agnīśarman, Nāgaśarman and Śivaśarman, who were residents, of the village of Śābarabhōḍa as an *agrahāra* by the king for increasing the merit of his father who was in heaven. The record is dated the 20th day of the 7th fortnight of the Hēmantā (winter) season in the 7th year of the king's victorious reign. As this is the only record of the reign and as it is dated in the 7th year it may not be improbable that king Viśākha-varman's period did not exceed a decade. (circa 430-440 A. D.) With the fall of Viśākha-varman, the Māthara dynasty of Kalinga came to an end. Viśākha-varman would appear to have made the grant mentioned above on the occasion of the anniversary of the death of his father. The edict was issued from the victorious city Śrīpura which was

probably the king's capital at that time. This also supports the view that Viśākhavarman spent the few years of his reign in fighting his enemies and consequently was obliged to move the seat of his residence from Simhapura to a place further north called Śrīpura. Viśākhavarman's father is not mentioned in the inscription; for the present he may be assumed to be Umavarman. Mahārāja Viśākhavarman's reign would have come to an end about 440 A.D., and the date may be assumed to be fairly reasonable, for that date has been fixed by us elsewhere for the celebration of eleven Aśvamedhas and the Rājashūya sacrifice by the Vishnukundin king Mādhavarman I.<sup>28</sup>

The seven charters of the dynasty with the exception of the Rāgōlu plates furnish to us altogether six generations of the Māthara dynasty. The records do not specifically mention the names of the donors' ancestors and, therefore, for the present we are left to conjecture. The history of this line of kings, who held the sovereignty of Kalinga from about the middle of the fourth century to about the middle of the fifth century, is completely lost in obscurity. The history of this powerful dynasty who held sway over Kalinga for nearly a century would appear to have been the history of the wars and protracted hostilities between the Śālikāyana of Vāga, the Vāśiṣṭhas of Dēvarāṣṭra and others who are not known to epigraphy. There is no doubt that the Mātharas were a powerful family who despite the hostility of their neighbours and treachery of their subordinates and vassal kings held the sovereignty of Kalinga for a long period. The kings of this illustrious dynasty may be arranged chronologically for easy reference as follows:

#### *Māthara-kula*

1. Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śaktivarman  
or Śaktivarman (I). 350—365 A.D.  
|
2. Anantavarman. 365 A.D.  
|
3. Ananta-Śaktivarman  
(or Śaktivarman II). 365—394 A.D.  
|
4. Chandavarman. 394—400 A.D.  
|
5. Umavarman. 400—430 A.D.  
|
6. Viśākhavarman. 430—c. 440 A.D.

The above dates are only tentative.

The Mātharas may be said to be the first dynasty to attempt to establish a paramount monarchy for the entire kingdom of Kalinga,

<sup>28</sup> See Chapter IV in my forthcoming book on the "History of the Early Dynasties of Andhradesa" c. 300—600 A. D.

during the fourth and fifth centuries of the Christian era. The sovereignty of the Mātharas thrived as long as the friendly Śāṅkāyana neighbours in Vēṅgi on the south were in power. The fall of the Śāṅkāyanas at the hands of the Viṣṇukundins hastened the downfall of the Mātharas also at the hands of the same power shortly afterwards. The expansion of the imperial Viṣṇukundins would seem to have proved a menace to the sovereignty of the Mātharas in Kalinga. With the rise of the Viṣṇukundins a new chapter begins in the Early History of Andhradēśa and Kalinga. The first attempt to annex and incorporate Kalinga into Āndhra as a part of that country was made during the Viṣṇukundin Epoch.

### POSTSCRIPT.

The Māthara family would appear to have survived long after they were overthrown. They sank to the level of a feudatory family, and never afterwards rose to the sovereignty of Kalinga. This is borne out by a record of the time of Mahā Bhāvagupta II, of Vayātinagara, the ornament of the Sōmakula and lord of Trikalīṅga.\* A certain chief named *Rāṣabha Śrī* (son of Vōḍā, who called himself a subordinate of the *Paramaḥkṣātraka, Mahārājadhīrāja, Parmāvara* Mahā Bhāvaguptarājadhīva, and born in the Māthara family, is mentioned in the record. Dr. Kiethen who edits the charter thinks that the inscription could not have been written earlier than the 11th century A. D. I shall take another opportunity to fix the chronology and trace the history of the Somavamsi kings of Vayātinagara. For the present, however, I shall content myself saying that I cannot agree with the learned and distinguished epigraphist, and assign the date of Mahā Bhāvagupta II to about the 9th century A. D. but not later. From the above inscription it appears conclusively that the Māthara family survived roughly five centuries after their fall.

\* *Kudopali plates of the time of Mahā Bhāvagupta II. E.I., Vol. IV, pp. 254ff. (sic 250)*



## THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE GĀṅGA ERA

In the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. XI, parts 1 and 2, my friend Sri B. V. Krishna Rao concluded after a long discussion that the first year of the Kalinga Gāṅga era ended in Ś. S. 420. That is to say, it commenced in some month in Ś. S. 419. Then the Poudūrū grant of Vajrabastadēva being dated G. E. 700 must be of Ś. S. 1119. *Trikalingādhipati* Anantavarma-Vajrabastadēva ruled from Ś. S. 960 to 992. So the date of the Poudūrū Grant goes beyond the date of this Vajrabastadēva and falls within the period of his grandson Anantavarma-Chōḍa Gangadēva who ascended the throne in Ś. S. 999. We do not know of any ruler of the name of Vajrabastadēva after Ś. S. 992. How Sri Krishnarao would explain this discrepancy is awaited.

G. RAMADAS.

I am grateful to my friend Mr. G. Ramadas Pantulu, B. A., for giving me this opportunity to explain what he terms a 'discrepancy'.

In the first place I do not agree with Mr. Ramadas in reading the numerals giving the date as 700. I read the numerals as 500. The text—for the sake of easy reference—I give here once more—runs as follows :

"*Tasya Gāṅgāyaya pravarḍhamāna vijayarājya samvatsarāśata 500 anten—apī Ḍāhādha (mā'as diva 5 Adalā) tya vāra(e) lakkātam*"

Mr. Ramadas draws a comparison between numeral expressing 7 in the Narsapatam grant of Vajrabasta (III) and says that this symbol and the figure in that record are alike. On this supposed similarity he reads the figures as yielding 700. But by a curious mistake he fails to see that numeral 3 after the word *diva* is closely alike the 5 in the hundreds unit in the above line. And secondly, while the initial form of the vowel *Ā*, the first syllable in the words, *Āhādha-māsa*, clearly visible in the plate, Mr. Ramadas omits it and reads the passage as *shādha-māsa* merely. No doubt this reading suits admirably the interpretation he puts upon the date. But the reading is hardly tenable. The date has to be read as

Gāṅga year 500-Āshāḍha-mās-5th day, Sunday. According to my view the Gāṅga era commenced sometime in Ś. S. 419 (expired) and ended in Ś. S. 430; and accordingly the date falls in Ś. S. 919 expired. Since the week-day is mentioned along with the *tithi* which may be taken as the 5th day of the bright fortnight of Āshāḍha, it became quite easy to verify it. In Ś. S. 919 expired, the *amānta* Āshāḍha began on Wednesday, June 9, A. D. 907; and that was the day of the *pratipat* or *prati. pāda* or 1st *tithi* of the bright fortnight. The 5th *tithi* fell actually on Sunday, 12th June 907 A. D. This date falls therefore, in the reign of Anantavarman-Vajrahastadēva II, who reigned from about 977 to 980 A. D. for 33 years. (See ante p. 13). In my opinion there is no discrepancy, and the date of the charter admirably agrees with my view.

Mr. Ramadas makes another mistake. In the Pondūru charter I fail to read the epithet *Trikoṭīngādhīpati* for Vajrahastadēva (II). I cannot understand why the learned scholar should import that title. It would certainly mislead the readers.

B. V. KRISHNARAO,



## FEATURES OF BEDARA ADMINISTRATION IN SOUTH INDIA

R. N. SALETOR, M.A.

The Bedars who played such a prominent part in the politics of Southern India during the 18th and 19th centuries were no mere barbarians. Their epigraphs show that they organised themselves into a body politic, evidently after their illustrious masters, the emperors of Vijayanagara, whose feudatories they were in their early days.

The head of the Bedara administration was the *Mahānāyaka-cārya* for in A.D. 1606 this title was assumed by Kāmageti Cikkanna Nayaka.<sup>1</sup> A record of A.D. 1603 relates how a *Nāyaka* received fines from priests in charge of temples, which they were empowered to spend, while orders for such expenditure were probably sent through his commander, the *Doṣaṣṭhi*. The *Mahānāyaka-cārya* Kāmageti Immaḍi Medakeri Nāyaka, having received from the priest of the god Virabhadra of Hullur 24 *hapa* 22 *finas*, granted them for the offering at the great festival of the god, giving orders concerning this amount to the *doṣaṣṭhi* Mallappa.<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to note how this grant was made in the presence of certain *Gauḍas*, who are styled as witnesses. These *Gauḍas* sometimes sold their *gauḍikes* to the ruling chief. A grant of A.D. 1581 shows how Siddappa Gauḍa of Siddapura, son of Devappa Gauḍa of Keru, sold his *gauḍike* of Rotṭahalli, for 205 *varāha* to the son of Vōbappa Nāyaka, Medakeri Nāyaka of Citrahalli.<sup>3</sup> These *Nāyakas* used to grant whole villages as gifts. In A.D. 1730 the Citradurga ruler, Medakeri Nāyaka's son gave a village to Haruma Nāyaka.<sup>4</sup>

These *Nāyakas* of Citrahalli in A.D. 1718 appear to have had about them *Bhaṭṭas*, who sang their praises. These were sometimes granted *agrahāras*. Harappa Nāyaka in this year, in order that fame and fortune may be "to his *dhāḍa*, granted" to Bhaṭṭara Tiṃnappa, son of

1 *E. C.* XI, Cd. 13, p. 6.

2 *Ibid.*, 12, p. 7. "Kāmagetti Yimmaḍi Medakeri Nāyaka ayyanavarū Hulluva Virabhadra-devaru tammadi Uḍṣṭravaru Kayya" 24 hapa..... aparādhara kaiṭolaḷ āḡi-ṣṭra-yillade Ho... Virabhadra-devaru-mahotsava-naivedya...nāḍa Mallappaḡe Krayavāḡi ga 26 varāha...nindodakke ḍaḷavāy; Tiri...na appaḡeyali mūḍiḍa ṣṣana. text p. 11.

3 *Ibid.* XI, Cd. 13, p. 13. "Siddapurade Siddappa Gauḍanu koṭṭa grāmada gauḍikeya vikrayada ṣṭiṣ-sana nāmma avasaru-nimitta āḡi namma godikege saluva Rotṭahalliya' grāmada--gauḍikeyaon sanda Marruninda Krayar āḡi ga 200 yinnūru-varāha akṣharaḍallo yinnūru-varāha kaisale-marragi." text pp. 22—23.

4 *Ibid.* Cd. 34, p. 14. Note Citrahalli was also known as Citradurga.

Mattappa and grandson of Bhataia Timmappa of Baggur, the village of Haluvidhara in the Durga *sime* as an *agrukhāra*.<sup>5</sup> This reveals how this profession and probably the office too of the 'Bhata' was hereditary, like several other offices during the empire of Vijayanagara. This institution of the *Bhata* was no innovation of the Citraballi Bedara rulers, for it was a well-known Karnāṭaka institution current during the Vijayanagara emperors.<sup>6</sup>

The Bedara Nāyaka rulers appear to have been polygamous, as can be ascertained from their records. This was nothing strange, for in Vijayanagara times this was the usual custom of the emperors<sup>7</sup> and it is not surprising that their feudatories imitated this custom. About the year A. D. 1700 Kamageri Kanturi Medakeri Nāyaka built a tank in the name of his junior crowned queen Nāga (mmat) with the assistance of one Kancaya.<sup>8</sup>

During the administration of these Nāyaks, they seem to have created seats for conducting the government of the locality. In A. D. 1700 it is recorded that Barmanna Nāyaka gave away the village of Cikka-Budhibālu within the Bejura *sime*, evidently the 'seat of government of the government of the nāḍ' or the district.<sup>9</sup>

The Nāyaks of Citraballi must have been great patrons of Brahmins. They bestowed villages on Brahmins who were not even their own subjects. Barmanna Nāyaka in A. D. 1708 granted to Nāyana Bhata, Śankarabhatta and Śivabhatta, residents of Kōsi a grant of the Kollogunte village in the Kodaganu-*sime* of the kingdom he was ruling as a gift.<sup>10</sup> The son of the ruler named Medakeri Nāyaka gave after his father to Samācārya as a *deed* gift, the village of Mallappanahalli.<sup>11</sup> In A. D. 1716 the guru, Raghonātha Tirtha Śrīpāda and his disciples were again given by Barmanna Nāyaka the village of Demala-vachhalli in the same Kodaganu-*sime*.<sup>12</sup> These were grants made generally in a religious manner. The agent of the Baḷa Beḷḷu Immaḍi Hanumappa Nāyaka made a grant for Kaṇḍāḍa Dēva, with the witness of the vāḷāṣṭi and other gents probably in A. D. 1776.<sup>13</sup> Ruined

5 *Ibid.* Cd. 34, p. 14.

6 Cf. B. A. Saletores, "Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire" I, pp. 445-47.

7 Sewall, *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 282-83; *Arch. Sur. Rep.* 1908-09, p. 178.

8 *E. C.* XI, Cd. 73, p. 16 "tamma paṭada Nāga...chikkammanavata besarali katiāda kere yidu..." text p. 18.

9 *Ibid.* Dig. 16, pp. 18-20; text p. 47 "nāu āḷava Bēṭṭur-*sime* yolaḡaṇa Cikkabudhibālu yemba grāmavannu..."

10 *Ibid.* Dg. 131, p. 73.

11 *Ibid.* Dg. 137, p. 80.

12 *Ibid.* Dg. 147, p. 73.

13 *Ibid.* Dg. 158, p. 81.

temples were restored by them. In A.D. 1698 Barmappa Nāyaka of Citrahaḷli had the stone image of the god Aḥōbala Narasimha of Niratāḍi made anew, caused it to be again set up, restored the temple and made a grant of land for the service of the god, as all the temples which were destroyed by the Muhammadan Sultans of Delhi, probably in A.D. 1636. *Agrahāras* for the propagation of merit were granted, for example, by Kastūri Barmappa Nāyaka, the Medakeri Nāyaka, in A.D. 1726.<sup>14</sup>

Sometimes, a government aided *maṭha* was created probably for feeding the poor. Rājā Medakeri Nāyaka in A.D. 1756 granted the village of Gundanahalli in the Hiriyūr-śime of his kingdom with all the usual rights for the maintenance of the *amācāstra maṭha* he had had established in Hiriyūr in the name of some one.<sup>15</sup>

Dilapidated villages were repaired for the propagation of public prosperity. The Anesidāri village, first granted as an *agrahāra* of the great emperor Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya having been destroyed during a fight, in A.D. 1637 the Kastūri Medakeri Nāyaka had it repaired and set up a stone inscription recording his work of merit.<sup>17</sup>

Grants of villages were made to specific sects. It appears that the Rāmānuja sect was specially favoured by the Bedars of Citrahaḷli. A record probably of A.D. 1583, very much effaced, shows that Timmappa, to whom Tirumala Rāya of Vijayanagara granted an *amara māgaṇi*, in order that merit might accrue to Tirumala Rāya, his patron, in the presence of the god Hampa Virūpākṣa in the capital, Vijayanagara, gave to the establisher of the path of the Vēdas, the *śāstrya* of parama-hansa *saṃpādā* Māḷyavanta Rāmānuja-Jiyya evidently a village.<sup>16</sup> Again in A.D. 1578 Kamageti Kastūri Cikkappa Nāyaka granted the Nāgenahalli village as a rent-free grant for the Rāmānuja sect.<sup>18</sup> This, of course, never meant that these Nāyakas were not equally well-disposed to the religious heads of other sects. For instance, in A.D. 1663 in order that merit might accrue to his lord, Kastūri Rangappa Nāyaka, Kariappa Nāyaka of Tāle gave the Ganjigatte village to Gādaripāli-Nāyaka *śreṇi*.<sup>19</sup>

When such grants were made, they were not only bestowed in the presence of witnesses, who must have been local persons of importance,

14 *Ibid* Dg. 164, p. 82; text p. 144 "Yi niratāḍi Ahubola Narasimha dēvara punah-pratishṭheyana mādisi dēvathānavaṇnu ā chandrāka-stayiyūgi māḍista seve."

15 *Ibid*, Hr. 71, p. 112.

16 *Ibid*, Hr. 55 pp 110-111; text p. 185 "vara hessarallu Hiruyurallu māḍisidha anna-cbhatrada maṭhaka..."

17 *E. O.* XI, Hr. 58, p. 111.

18 *Ibid*, Hr. 75, p. 112; Hl. 4, p. 118.

19 *Ibid*, Hr. 69, p. 111.

20 *Ibid*, Hl. 66, p. 123.

but sometimes trustees were appointed to maintain them. When the new village of Virapura, pertaining to the Bāgūr *stam* was granted by Ganjamma, the daughter of Kastūri Cikkappa Nāyaka's treasurer, Muddanna, certain trustees were appointed to look after this gift.<sup>21</sup> This is a very ancient Indian custom of safeguarding public grants. Such a practice is evidently alluded to in one of the Nāsik Cave inscriptions, pertaining to the second century A.D.<sup>22</sup>

#### ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

From the records of the Beḍara chieftains, it is sometimes possible to know some of the economic conditions of their times. A grant of A.D. 1606 pertaining to the days of Kamāgeti Cikkappa Nāyaka's agent Malli Seṭṭi of Sire mentions the grant of a village tax "*grāma dera*" (*bilcoḍu-erameya-ketasala-galige biṭṭa*).<sup>23</sup> It is not possible to know the nature of this source of revenue, but nevertheless it is interesting to observe how a public source of revenue was at times set apart for the execution of public works. It is also possible to ascertain some other sources of government income during the sovereignty of these Beḍaras. In A.D. 1655 during the rule of Immaḷi Medakeri Nāyakaṛāya some more avenues of state income are mentioned. The village of Kadalegōḍu with all the dry cultivation, wet cultivation, forced labour, labour for wages customs dues and all the many rents, in sole possession of enjoyment, was granted as a gift.<sup>24</sup> These sources, as shown elsewhere, were the traditional dues of Hindu government from very early times and were in common vogue during the Vijayanagara empire.<sup>25</sup> The villages so granted were called *māṇḍas*.<sup>26</sup>

It is possible that the practice of granting compensation to those killed in battle, after the old Karkātaka manner, was also known to the Beḍaras. It is related how under Aparājarāsaiya, evidently a leader, in the siege of Harati, Bōḷi Cannā, coming out of a town, fell on his head and died in the fight and for this a *roḷia-koḍage* was granted obviously to his survivors.<sup>27</sup> Like this, another custom of granting a part of land as *umhoḷi* must have also been followed. In A.D. 1658 the

21 *Ibid.* Hl. 80, p. 128.

22 *Ep. Ind.* VIII, p. 78. "dāna caṇḍa brāhmanasa varāhiputrāsu Asvibhūtiṣu hathe kinita mūlena kaḥapaḍasahasrehi catubi 4000 ya Sapiruzataba-d." In this connection see Sir A. M. Com. Vol. III (1928) p. 477.

23 *B. C.* XI, Cd. 80, text p. 32, tr. p. 18.

24 *Ibid.* Cd. 8, text p. 35, tr. p. 19: "Salavantā kādārambha-nīrarambha biṭṭi kūmaṭa sunka saha sakala sarvānādāya yeka sarvamānya."

25 Cf. *Ibid.* Hl. 79, p. 113.

26 *Ibid.* JI. 27, p. 87.

27 *Ibid.* Hl. 13, p. 127.



Hoḷakkeri-śīme granted as an *amaramāpāṭi* by Tirumala Rāya of Vijayanagara to Kamageti Medakeri Nāyaka, was made over by this Nāyaka to his brother-in-law Gulliyappa Nāyaka as an *umbāḷi*.<sup>28</sup> This was done after Gulliyappa had determined the extent of land by former custom, (*grāma-svasti pūva mariyādiyamu namma maiduna Gulliyappa Nāyakaru mukhānradallī bhūmiyanna āṣaṣi māḍisi pratipālisisida kramam*) which appears to have been achieved through an examination and measurement of the lands.<sup>29</sup> For this purpose a measure of ten feet seems to have been utilised.<sup>30</sup> Distinction was made between the ordinary and other types of lands. An epigraph of A.D. 1600 relates how Kamageti Kasūrī Medakeri Nāyakaṛṛya granted to the Bāgūr Cīranti, Cenna Basappa Deva, the town lands (*ṛi grāmakke solluna*) of Goidamuru in the Bāgūr-śīme<sup>31</sup> including the wet land, dry land, the houses and other things free of all imposts. Moreover, local exemptions were given according to former custom.<sup>32</sup>

28 *Ibid.*, Hk. 3, p. 116, text p. 126.

29 *Ibid.*, Cd. 7, p. 17.

30 *Ibid.*, Hl, text p. 126; *hijavaru batta pādada alala kolu pramāna*.

31 *Ibid.*, Hl. 81, p. 125. "Ṛi grāmakke solluna gade beddalu mane māru sarve samastavamu bhūmiyanna sarva sāmānyavāgi dhāra pūva-kavāgi kottu idheve...sthala mānya pūva mariyāde" text p. 208.

## THE SO-CALLED REGENCY OF ŚRĪ NARAHARĪ TĪRTHA IN KALINGA.

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Saints and philosophers have played a prominent part in the history of our country in all ages. The medieval history of the Dekkan and South India contains numerous examples of eminent religious men who have exercised profound influence not only on the religious thought of the time but also on contemporary politics. Two teachers of the Mādhva school,<sup>1</sup> Śrī Vyāsarāja<sup>2</sup> and Śrī Naraharī Tīrtha,<sup>3</sup> figure prominently in this connection. Of these, the former was the 'guardian angel' of the Vijayanagara empire for over half a century and the latter was the generous benefactor of the Kalinga country for over thirty years.

Very little is known about the life and work of Śrī Naraharī Tīrtha and the central fact of his long career, his regency in the Kalinga country, is open to serious doubts. I propose to examine in this paper the evidence relating to this event and determine the truth about it.

### I

Śrī Naraharī Tīrtha alias Śāma Śastry was born in one of the ministerial families of Kalinga. From the statements contained in one of his Śikṣūrmam inscriptions he seems to have received valuable training, while he was still in his teens, in statecraft as well as in the military science.<sup>4</sup> He was such a great genius, that could at that very early age acquire unique mastery over the philosophic lore of the time and obtain recognition as one of the accredited leaders of the Monistic school of Śrī Śaṅkara on the east coast.<sup>5</sup> From the traditional

1 This is familiarly known as the Dvaita or Dualistic school and is one of the recognised systems of Vedānta. Its founder was Śrī Mādhva ācharya 1238-1316 A.D.

2 Śrī Vyāsarāja svāmī, a celebrated Mādhva teacher, was held in high esteem by the rulers of Vijayanagara from Saluva Narasimha to Achyutadeva. For the life and work of this teacher see Somanatha's *Vyāsarajacharitam* edited by B. Venkoba Rao.

3 This teacher was the second in apostolic succession to Śrī Mādhva ācharya and was Pontiff between 1324-1335 A.D. The best part of his life time was spent in Kalinga, his native country.

4 See *Ep. Ind.* VI. pp. 260-263 lines 15-18 of the inscription.

5 The only other Monistic scholar that opposed the ācharya on the east coast was Sobhana bhāṭṭa, of the Godavary delta, who also, vanquished by the former, embraced neopagan and became Śrī Padmanabha Tīrtha. He was the first apostolic successor of the ācharya.

chronologies preserved in the Mādhva mutts, Śrī Narahari tirtha is known to have died in 1335 A.D.<sup>6</sup> at the ripe old age of ninety. Obviously, he was born in 1243 A.D. While this boy prodigy was flourishing in Kalinga, a bright star arose on the Indian philosophical firmament and began to shed ever increasing lustre. Śrī Mādhva āchārya born in 1238 A.D. and admitted into the ascetic order eleven years later, emerged during the course of the next few years as a great critic of Monism and as the expounder of a new school of thought. This great teacher undertook his first tour to Badarināth in the Himalayas about 1258 A.D. and returned home by the east coast three years later. Śāma Śāstry, the strong advocate of Monism could not allow this avowed enemy of his faith to go unchallenged. He intercepted the āchārya's march and challenged him to a philosophical combat. A fierce controversy then ensued between the two and lasted for several days. In the end Śāma Śāstry was defeated. He took this defeat so seriously to heart that he gave up forthwith his old faith and joined the new school. So great was his enthusiasm for the Dualistic system of Śrī Mādhva āchārya and its propagation, that he sought initiation into the ascetic order at the hands of the great teacher. Thus Śāma Śāstry became Śrī Narahari tirtha.<sup>7</sup> This new disciple accompanied the āchārya to Uḍipi, the latter's head-quarters.

According to many sources,<sup>8</sup> very soon after this, the āchārya commanded his pupil to return to Kalinga and be its ruler for twelve years. Śrī Narahari tirtha protested against this apparent degradation and requested that he may be allowed to stay with his master. The āchārya told him then that the object of the disciple's stay in Kalinga was to fetch the idols of Rāma and Śeṭa,<sup>9</sup> which lay neglected in the treasury of the Gāṅga kings of Kalinga. Gratified at the prospect of his being able to render a valuable service to his great teacher, Śrī Narahari tirtha is said to have left for Kalinga. The traditional works mention further that this ascetic entered Kalinga just after the death of its reigning king. He proceeded to the bank of the Lāṅghā river and sat on its bank wrapt in meditation. The late king left behind him a boy to inherit the Gāṅga throne. Following an old custom, the officials, feudatories and prominent subjects of the state assembled in a council and

6 This event is placed on the seventh day of the bright half of the month of Pushya in the cyclic year Śrimukha.

7 See my *Śrī Madhva-āchārya's Cāritram* Ch. 3 where the chronology of these events has been discussed. See also the *Śāstramahodadhi*, Pt. I *Narahari-gatistotra*.

8 The facts that follow have been derived from the *Narahari-gatistotra* and the *Gurukāṭhakaṭapata*, a manuscript history of the Mādhva Pontiff of the Uttaradi mutt, which H. H. Sri Satyacharya tirtha (swamiji) of the Uttaradi mutt has kindly allowed me to examine.

9 These two idols are still preserved in the Uttaradi mutt and are the chief objects of worship.

decided to elect a regent to look after the realm till the boy came of age. They gave a garland to the state elephant and left it free to choose a candidate. The animal is said to have gone straight to the bank of the Lāngūla river, approached the ascetic and thrown the garland round his neck. The ministers and feudatories, who followed it, explained matters to the bewildered ascetic and requested him to accept the regency. Śrī Narahari tīrtha recollected the command of his master, reconciled himself to the prospective change and accepted the charge. He is said to have protected the Gāṅga kingdom for 10 years, handed over charge to the boy king, who by then came of age, obtained the two idols from him as a reward and then left Kalinga.

There are many inscriptions in the Vaiṣṇavite temples of Śrīkūrmam and Śimbūchalām in the Kalinga country which either record the gifts of Śrī Narahari tīrtha or contain clear references to him. The dates of these records range between 1164<sup>10</sup>—1194<sup>11</sup> A.D. indicating that this teacher stayed in that country for over thirty years.

There is thus no apparent contradiction between the traditional and epigraphical sources regarding the duration of this saint's stay in Kalinga. Several writers have referred to this in passing and no serious attempt has so far been made to examine this question in detail and determine the actual duration of Śrī Narahari tīrtha's stay. I propose to examine here, in the light of the available material, the truth of the so called regency.

## II

It is necessary to mention at the outset certain facts which are beyond dispute and which help immensely in the solution of the problem mentioned above. In the first place, a careful perusal of the *Śrīmadhacaryaya*, the authentic biography of Śrī Mādhva āchārya, indicates clearly that he must have been passing along the east coast on his way back from his Badarī tour about the year 1161 A.D. It must be in this year that the controversy between him and Śāma Śāstry took place.<sup>12</sup> It is reasonable to suppose that a period of two or three years elapsed between this event and the return of Śāma Śāstry to Kalinga as Śrī Narahari tīrtha. The earliest record of this ascetic is also dated 1162 and supports this supposition. In the second place, Śrī Mādhva āchārya is known to have departed finally from Uḍipi on the eleventh day of the bright half of the month of Māgha in the cyclic year Pingalā corresponding to 11th January 1318. According to the traditional sources, Śrī Narahari tīrtha gave him the idols 30 days before this event. Evidently this ascetic reached Uḍipi on 24 October

<sup>10</sup> *Madras Epigraphical Collection*. No. 569 of 1896.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 191 of 1896.

<sup>12</sup> See my *Madhvacharyacharitra* Ch. 2.

1317. He seems to have left Kalinga about the middle of that year. In the third place, three monarchs of the Gāṅga dynasty, Narasimhadēva I (1238-1264), Bhānudēva I (1264-1270) and Narasimhadēva II (1270-1306) ruled over Kalinga during the period covered by the inscriptions of Śrī Narahari tirtha.<sup>13</sup>

When did the so-called regency of this ascetic begin? According to the combined evidence of the traditional and inscriptional evidence mentioned above, it must have started in 1264 A.D. If so, it must have terminated in 1276 A.D. after a period of twelve years. But two facts contradict this possibility, viz. the epigraphs which show that he was in Kalinga till 1292 A.D. at the least and that part of the traditional version which shows that he must have reached Uḍipi only in 1317 A.D. Nor is there any evidence either in literature or in tradition to show that this saint left Kalinga after some years of stay, went to Uḍipi and then returned to Kalinga. His stay in the Gāṅga kingdom seems to have been continuous and unbroken. It is evident, therefore, that his so-called regency cannot be held to have begun in 1264 A.D.

Another alternative is to take 1317 A.D. as the year in which his regency might have terminated. In that case it should have begun in the middle of 1305 A.D. There are several objections to this alternative also. Firstly, the regency ought to coincide with Śrī Narahari tirtha's entry into Kalinga and not begin forty-two years later as indicated by this alternative. Secondly, this saint was very active in Kalinga long before his regency would have commenced. His presence and activity before that event are against tradition. Thirdly, there occurs a gap of over ten years between the last known date of this saint's presence in Kalinga and 1305 A.D., which has to be explained. Thus even this alternative is against our sitting in the period of the so-called regency within the period covered by the inscriptions.

There is yet another argument which disproves this regency. The traditional sources mention unanimously that the regency was the outcome of the succession of a boy king to Kalinga. The arrival of Śrī Narahari tirtha in this country should therefore coincide with the commencement of the regency and also the death of a Gāṅga ruler. King Narasimhadēva I was ruling over the country at this time and was succeeded by his son Bhānudēva I. Thus there is no possibility for a regency and there is further no evidence to prove that a boy sat on the Gāṅga throne during this period.

Another approach to this problem is suggested by the combined evidence of tradition and inscriptions. One traditional work states that<sup>14</sup> as soon as Śrī Narahari tirtha left the Gāṅga capital with the

13. M. Chakravarti—“Eastern Ganga Kings of Kalinga” in *J.B.R.A.S.* for 1908 pp. 120 & 125.

14. Cf. the *Gurukṛthakalpaka*.

two idols which were till then lying in the royal treasury, the treasury caught fire. Probably anticipating this event the saint is said to have ridden away in great haste. He is mentioned as having made a brief halt at Śrīkūrmam on the way, instituted the idols of Rāma, Śita and Lakshmaṇa there and resumed his flight with the two idols obtained by him from the Gāṅga king. One of the Śrīkūrmam inscriptions mentions<sup>15</sup> that Śrī Narahari tīrtha installed in the local Vaiṣṇava temple the images of Śita, Rāma and Lakshmaṇa. The date of this event corresponds to 3rd January 1294. This agrees perfectly with the traditional version and this date also happens to be the last known date of this teacher in Kalinga. It may be suggested therefore that 1294 A.D. may be taken to mark the conclusion of the so-called regency. There are, however, two objections to this view. Firstly, the regency would then begin in 1282 A.D. and this would be 18 years after the arrival of Śrī Narahari tīrtha in Kalinga, while the traditional sources are unanimous in stating that this event coincided with the so-called regency. Secondly, this view is against the traditional version that the teacher left Kalinga in 1217 immediately after the termination of his office.

One writer, however, rejects the tradition that Śrī Mādhyāśāhāya asked his disciple to fetch the idols of Rāma and Śita from Kalinga.<sup>16</sup> Another writer<sup>17</sup> refers to this view and the Śrīkūrmam inscription mentioned above, and inclines to think that the idols installed by Śrī Narahari tīrtha in 1294 were the same as those obtained by him at the Gāṅga capital. This view is untenable. In the first place, Śrī Narahari tīrtha obtained only two idols, those of Rāma and Śita, but those set up by him at Śrīkūrmam were three in number, including the image of Lakshmaṇa also. In the second place, the two idols are said to have been lying neglected in the Gāṅga treasury. Obviously, they were smaller, portable and made of precious metal so that they needed safe custody in the royal treasury. The images set up at Śrīkūrmam in 1294 seem, on the other hand, to have been made of stone and of a comparatively bigger size. There is no doubt therefore that the idols of Rāma and Śita now worshipped by the Pontiff of the Uttarāṇḍi Muṭt are identical with those fetched by Śrī Narahari tīrtha from Kalinga.

It is necessary to refer here to yet another approach made to the solution of the problem of the so-called regency.<sup>18</sup> One writer takes his stand on a Śrīkūrmam inscription of king Narasimhaḍḍa dated 1293

15 *Madras Epigraphical Collection*, No. 293 of 1896.

16 See E. Venkoba Rao in the *Vyastogicharitam* edited by him, Introd. p. XXVII.

17 See Prof. S. Hanumantha Rao in the *Madhvanandana* I-8, p. 115.

18 *Ibid.*



A.D. which is said to be his 18th regnal year and deduces that the reign itself must have commenced in 1275 A.D. This writer supposes further that this Narasimhadēva was the boy king mentioned by the traditional sources and that Śrī Narahari tirtha was regent on his behalf for twelve years before 1275 A.D. The so-called regency lasted in his opinion between 1263—1275 A.D. There are many serious objections to this view. Firstly, the 18th year of the inscription referred to above is the *amśa* year and not the regnal year. It corresponds, as such, to the 15th year of the reign.<sup>19</sup> Secondly, there is no evidence to show that this Narasimhadēva succeeded to throne as a boy. Thirdly, the period between 1263—1275 A.D., which this writer assigns for the so-called regency of Śrī Narahari tirtha falls within the reigns of two Gāṅga monarchs, Narasimhadēva I (1258—1264) and Bhānudēva I (1264—1279). These two kings were succeeded by Narasimhadēva II. Thus the chronology of the three Gāṅga kings indicates an unbroken succession and does not admit directly or indirectly a regency within the period. Fourthly, the period assigned by the writer converges practically over the entire reign of Bhānudēva I. If Śrī Narahari tirtha is supposed to have been regent during this period, it amounts to saying that Bhānudēva never ruled at all, a conclusion which would be an apparent absurdity.

For these reasons I believe that Śrī Narahari tirtha's so-called regency in Kalinga for twelve years is a mere myth. It appears that the traditional version about this incident is the result of an indiscreet combination of several independent events viz., Śrī Narahari tirtha's stay for a long time in Kalinga, his active participation in the politics of the time, and his hurried departure from that country with the idols of Rāma and Śita.

19 M. Chakravarti—in *J.D.S.A.S.* for 1925, p. 128.

## REVENUE ADMINISTRATION OF NORTHERN CIRCARS

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### CHAPTER III

#### Settlement of the Chicacole Sarkar (1766-1774).

"When an Indian conqueror leaves to a chief of any considerable power the interior management of his country on the condition of paying an annual sum as tribute, it is tolerably understood by the parties that it will not be paid without at least the presence of an army to demand it."

Wilks: *Historical Sketches of the South of India*. 1810-17.

In this chapter I propose to deal with the settlement of the Chicacole Sarkar during the period 1766-1774. A word of explanation is necessary for the special treatment of this Sarkar. As has already been shown in the preceding chapters, the Chicacole Sarkar till the year 1766, had never come under the close scrutiny

Introductory. of either the Madras government or of the chiefs of Masulipatam and Vizagapatam. Its physical configuration, its great distance from the seats of administration (Madras and Masulipatam till 1768) and the formidable power enjoyed by the Pūṣapāṭis of Vijayanagaram constituted the barriers that kept off any on the part of the central authority to obtain effective control of its revenue affairs. The Sarkar was parcelled out among numerous rājās and hill-chiefs, especially in the Ichchāpuram pargana but the Vijayanagaram family acted the middleman for the payment of the local revenues. At a time when the authority of the central government had least enveloped this Sarkar and especially under the vigorous and tactful guidance of Sītārāma Rāzu, the administration of the Pūṣapāṭis was obviously uncontrolled and severe.

Gradually the smaller zamindaries were swallowed up by this formidable principality and even the overthrow of such an historic family as that of Bubbili was acquiesced in by the Madras government who had felt bound to respect the fortune of the house of Ānanda Rāzu to whose resource and initiative the Company owed their hold in the Northern Sarkars. But when once the Sarkars were acquired by the grant of Shah Alum and the treaty with Nizam Ali, they found it necessary to call halt to any further increase in the power of Sītārāma Rāzu and his family. The settlement of the Ichchāpuram pargana carried through by Edward Costard during 1768-1774 was the outstanding result of this policy. To throw the transactions into clear relief it is necessary to survey the revenue affairs of the Chicacole Sarkar for the period 1766-1768.

As has already been seen elsewhere, Sītārāma Rāzu had entered into an agreement with the Madras government acting on behalf of Hussain Ali even before the treaty of Hyderabad was concluded, by which he agreed to pay five lakhs of rupees a year for the whole of the Chicacole Sarkar. This tribute was admittedly low. As was shown by John Lewen Smith, Chief of Masulipatam and successor of John Pybus who was responsible for this arrangement, it was justified by "the desolate situation of that country but just recovering after a severe famine brought on by the inclemency of the season."<sup>1</sup> Notwithstanding this, Sītārāma Rāzu tacitly obeyed the Company's regime and paid his tribute in full.<sup>2</sup>

Early in 1767, the Madras government took an altogether exceptional view of the affairs in this Sarkar. They wrote to Masulipatam: "Sītārāmrao's situation is so different from that of last year when he paid Hussain Ali only five lakhs of rupees. The Settlement of 1767: that we hope he may be prevailed on to double that sum, since that Circar must be better settled now by the countenance we gave him than heretofore."

Smith<sup>3</sup> and Crauford proceeded to Satyavaram, in the Sarvasiddhi taluk of the Vizagapatam district,<sup>4</sup> with a view to bringing Sītārāma Rāzu to fresh terms. But they found several difficulties in the way of raising the tribute to the unprecedented extent advocated by the Madras government. In extenuation of their partial failure, they wrote to Madras that on account of "the large body of troops he hath for some time kept and the expenses incurred by expeditions undertaken against Zemlodars in the Chicacole Circar, he hath so involved himself that the Soucars seem to avoid any dealings with him whatsoever." Further, as he had "almost the whole year's revenue in his hands we can see no other method left but agreeing with him on the best terms we can obtain."<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, they tried to impress on Sītārāma Rāzu that during the agreement of December 1765 "they had prevailed on Hussain Ali to accept of the five lakhs as a gratification and acknowledgment of obedience, not as a rent proportionable to the value of the Circar," and as such that agreement should not form the basis of

<sup>1</sup> Masulipatam to Madras, 31 December 1766. *Milit. Cons.* 8 January 1767. Vol. 58, pp. 3-6.

<sup>2</sup> Smith and Crauford to Madras, Rajahmundry 8 March 1766 *idem*, 25 March, *idem*, pp. 237-39. See also, *Madras Letters Received*, 15 April 1767 (Bourchier) para 10, Vol. III.

<sup>3</sup> Madras to Masulipatam, (military), 2 January 1767, Vol. 58, pp. 6-8.

<sup>4</sup> Roughly 15° latitude and 35° longitude.

<sup>5</sup> Smith and Crauford to Madras, Satyavaram, 8 March 1767; *Milit. Cons.* 25 March, *idem*, pp. 237-39.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

a fresh settlement.<sup>7</sup> But since Sītārāma Rāzu remained obdurate matters seemed to end in a deadlock.

To meet this crisis, Smith and Crauford devised a plan for splitting up the Sarkar into three divisions, and leasing them out since "to let this Circar remain for any length of time in the hands of a single renter who may be possessed of a considerable share of interest in the country must in the end be dangerous".<sup>8</sup> As Sītārāma Rāzu had meanwhile consented to settle with the government for his own zamindari (they found it advisable to accept his own terms and offer the *haveli* or government lands to rent to Vachchawaī Rāghava Rāzu, the manager of Sītārāma Rāzu "not only on account of the difference in the rents but as it will be getting the countries out of his hands and thereby lessening his influence and power."<sup>9</sup> The Madras government readily approved this novel method of dismembering the Chikacole Sarkar for the first time in the long history of its enjoyment by the Pūsa-pātīs of Vijayanagaram.<sup>10</sup> After protracted negotiations, an agreement was reached between the Company and Rāghava Rāzu by which the latter agreed to pay Rs. 5,33,941 for the Ichchāpūram *paragana* and Rs. 3,98,000 for the rest of the Chikacole Sarkar exclusively of the family properties of Vijayanagaram. As was customary, the Madras government undertook the defence as well as the internal policing of these areas.<sup>11</sup>

How tentative and superficial the control of Rāghava Rāzu over the Ichchāpūram *paragana* must have been will be clear from the following statement of the names of the several zamindaries, their estimated value, and the sums at which they were rated in the Company's books. If the figures would be accepted as correct (and one cannot be too cautious in dealing with the first figures of a new settlement), the rating of the division was incommensurate with the actual value of the land. But it will be remembered that all these nineteen zamindars had for a long time been semi-independent, with turbulent *Siddandies* swallowing up the revenues, and always reluctant to pay tribute unless compelled by the military forces of the renter.

Smith and Crauford next took up the Vijayanagaram zamindari. Sītārāma Rāzu furnished them with a statement according to which he maintained that his family had been customarily rated at Rs., 2,35,00 a year. While agreeing to pay the same amount in future he pressed for deductions on account of personal *jāgirs* conferred on his family by the

<sup>7</sup> *Same to Same*, 15 March. *Ibid.* pp. 229-41.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *Smith and Crauford to Madras*, Satgavaram, 14 March 1767, *Milit. Cons.* 25 March, Vol. 56, pp. 348-50.

<sup>10</sup> *Idea*, pp. 250-51, and *Madras to Manipalem*, 25 March, *idea*, pp. 265-67.

<sup>11</sup> *Smith and Crauford to Madras*, 25 March, *Milit. Cons.*, *idea*, pp. 286-89.

subadar of the Dekhan valued at Rs. 1,75,000 a year for which he offered to produce *sumada*. He further claimed a remission on the year's tribute on account of the distressed state of the country. But, while disowning any knowledge of the existence of the *jāgīrs*, Smith and Crauford pointed out to him that their "present business was to settle with him for the rent of his Zamindary". Śivārāma Rāru naturally protested against the summary manner in which he was treated by these servants of the Company, and, after a series of parleys, we are told, that "partly by fair means, assisted sometime by threats, we made him agree to give rupees 2,74,059, and in which no mention was made of the *Jagheers*"<sup>12</sup>

*Revenues of the Ichchapuram pargana 1767.*

(In Rupees).

Zamindari.	Estimated value of the land.	Tribute paid.
Pāṭṛ	10,000	3,300
Humma	5,000	3,000
Biridi	20,000	4,000
Kallikōṭa	50,000	24,000
Hauṭgur, (Atagada)	50,000	25,000
Ghumsar	100,000	25,000
Chikati	40,000	15,000
Mandasa	50,000	20,000
Taria	15,000	5,000
Jalantra	40,000	10,000
Sourera	10,000	2,000
Dharakōṭa	40,000	15,000
Bodogada	40,000	15,000
Vijanagar (Pedda Kimidi)	60,000	20,000
Serugada	30,000	7,500
Mohiri	70,000	30,000
Surangi	30,000	10,000
Jarada	15,000	5,000
Budarasingi	10,000	3,000
Total Rs.	5,66,000	2,41,000

*Note*.—Palur is slightly to the north of Ganjam, Humma to the west of Palur. Biridi to the north of Humma. Kallikōṭa to the north of Biridi. Atagada n. w. of Ganjam and due west of Kallikōṭa. Gumsar just below Russelkonda and to the n. n. w. of Ganjam. Chikati s. s. w. of Berhampur. Mandasa s. s. w. of Sompeta. Taria s. s. w. of Mandasa. Jalantra n. n. w. of Sompeta. Dharakōṭa n. n. w. of Aska.

<sup>12</sup> Smith and Crauford to Madras, loc. cit. Vol. 58, pp. 288-91. The Madras government resolved that "the terms are full as favourable as we could expect". See Vol. 58, p. 292-298.

Bodogodo due w. of Dharakōṭa. Pedda Kimiḍi between Chikati and Chinna Kimiḍi Zamindari. Surangi s. s. w. of Aska. Jarada zamindari which roughly represents a triangle. Is literally hemmed in by the Chikati Surangi and Jaintra estates. Sudarasingi due west of Dharakōṭa.

I was unable to identify Sourera and Mohiri. Sourera may be Surada. In the identification of these Zamindaries, I made use of various maps. Apart from the maps contained in the District Manual of Ganjam, I found the revenue survey maps of the Ganjam district 1" to a mile published in 1922 and the 1" to 16 miles survey map of 1918 published under the direction of Sir S. G. Barrard very useful.

To indicate the effect of confusion prevailing in this *pargana* it is interesting to note the following facts. Havigur encroached on the Pubbakōḍa *pargana* to the extent of Rs. 10,000 a year. Chumsur encroached on Aska to the extent of Rs. 15,000. Pedda Kimiḍi in a like manner on Kōla (10,000) and on Pubbakōḍa Rs. 10,000. Mohiri on Pubbakōḍa (Rs. 10,000). These sums are not included in the above statement. The troops representing these sums were later on incorporated into the *happet* land of the Company.

The result of this settlement of the Chicacole Sarkar which far exceeded the "most sanguine expectation," of the Madras government may be summed up as follows:<sup>13</sup>

*Settlement of the Chicacole Sarkar.*  
(1767).

District.	Header.	Rent in Rs.
Vijayanageram zamindari.	Sikrāma Rāzu.	2,74,059 4 0
Chicacole.	Rāghava Rāzu.	1,46,000 0 0
Kasimkōṭa.	do.	30,000 0 0
Isalmuru and Bomali.	do.	50,000 0 0
Satyavaram and Aakapalli (Pysala Ran).	do.	75,000 0 0
Kimiḍi (Narayana Deo.)	do.	12,000 0 0
Tekkali (Jagga Deo.)	do.	25,000 0 0
Nauṇḍa Sali. <sup>14</sup>	do.	40,000 0 0
Vonila and five other districts.		
(Jagapati Rāzu)	do.	40,000 0 0
Ichchāpuram district	do.	1,35,940 12 0
Total Chicacole Sarkar.		Rs. 8,00,000 0 0

This settlement effected a rise of sixty per cent in the gross revenues of the Sarkar. More important than this increase in the gross

<sup>13</sup> The names of persons in brackets in column one represent the zamindar for whom Rāghava Rāzu was accountable to the government.

See also *Madras Letters Received*, 12 April 1767 (Bourchier) para 10. Vol. III.

<sup>14</sup> Nauṇḍa is to the north of the Vamsadhāra River in the Vizagapatam district.



revenues was the fact that the authority of the Vijayanagaram family had been considerably reduced and as a consequence some of the lesser zamindari which had formerly been usurped by the Pūṣapātis were not liberated, while a nucleus of the *haveli* or government lands was formed.

This settlement was a thorough failure and did not last long. At a time when the Company's domain in the Sarkar was not completely established, the weakening of the traditional authority of the Vijayanagaram zamindari threw the revenue affairs in great disorder. Added to

this, the outbreak of war with Nizam Ali had its echo in the Chicacole Sarkar. No sooner had they realised that the zamindars were reluctant to obey the Company's authority than the Masulipatam Council had withdrawn the troops stationed in the Ichchāpuram pargana which were also urgently required for the protection of the southern provinces.<sup>15</sup> The French once again renewed their intrigues with Sitārāma Rāzu.<sup>16</sup> Meanwhile, Rāghava Rāzu had escaped from the jurisdiction of the Madras government and made common cause with his former master Sitārāma Rāzu who was chafing with discontent at the peremptory manner in which the government had deprived his family of its traditional and extensive power and revenues.<sup>17</sup> Matters came to a crisis when Nizam Ali invested Nārāyaṇa Deo, raja of Kimiṭṭi, as his nazib of the Chicacole Sarkar and ordered him to dispossess Sitārāma Rāzu of the several tracts which his family had usurped during the period of their uncontrolled power and sequester his zamindari in the event of any opposition from him, massacre all the British troops in the Sarkar and thus annihilate the Company's authority to the northward.<sup>18</sup>

The Madras government welcomed the publication of the Hyderabad *asasads* by Nārāyaṇa Deo. For one thing, it precluded a general rising on the part of the numerous zamindars in the Sarkar. For another "it has a good deal of influence on Sitārāmrao in bringing him to the terms lately agreed on with Jagun Fundat and by cutting off the hopes he entertained for himself will be the means of

15 *Masulipatam to Madras*, 13 August, *Milit. Cons.* 28 August, Vol. 59, pp. 728-29. Madras readily approved this measure; see *idem*, p. 730.

16 The Madras government warned Sitārāma Rāzu against any understanding with the French governor of Nagapatam who was responsible for these intrigues. *Sen. Madras to Masulipatam*, 21 April, Vol. 58, pp. 329-33.

17 *Masulipatam to Madras*, 14 November, *Milit. Cons.* 22 November, Vol. 59, pp. 1,335-35.

18 *Capt. Mudge to Vizagapatam, Chicacole*, 27 November per Vizagapatam to Madras, 2 December, *idem*, pp. 14 December, *idem*, pp. 1, 421-22.

See also *Madras Letters Received*, 4 November Bouchier, para 9, Vol. III.

maintaining him more firm to our interests.<sup>19</sup> They did not deem it fit to send reinforcements to the Chicasole Sarkar even though Capt. Madge, the officer directing the settlement in the Sarkar implored assistance.<sup>20</sup> On the other hand, they found it expedient to conciliate Sīūrāma Rāru and direct Masulipatam to resettle with him "in the best manner they are able as we imagine he may be prevailed on to assist our troops in that Circar to dispossess Nārāyana Deo of the country he had usurped".<sup>21</sup> Thus a fresh settlement had been begun within less than ten months after the first attempt to settle the Sarkar.

Smith and Crauford who had all the while been staying at Satyavaram deputed Jogi Pantulu to survey the Ichchāpuram *pargana* and settle the revenue business on the most favourable terms to the Company.<sup>22</sup> After a considerable investigation, he

Akkāji's rent of reported favourably on the proposals of Dabir the Ichchāpuram Akkāji;<sup>23</sup> and Jagannādbu Rāru.<sup>24</sup> The offer of *pargana* (1767-68) Akkāji, as the principal to act as *naib* of the Madras Government, more or less on the lines of Muhammad Raza Khan in Bengal and of Hussain Ali in the Sarkars was not accepted on account of the peculiar difficulties inherent in that type of management. Indicating this, Masulipatam wrote that if Akkāji "acts for himself, he will most (sic) probably become circumspect in entering into any dispute with the Zamindars and most frugal with regard to expenses, than if he acted in the character of the Company's manager."<sup>25</sup> "There is further one (more) favourable circumstance that he is not powerful and therefore cannot resist the Company's authority."<sup>26</sup>

19. *Masulipatam to Madras*, 10 December. *Milit. Cons.*, 21 December, Vol. 59, pp. 1,474-76.

20. *Masulipatam to Madras*, 7 November, *Milit. Cons.*, 23 November, Vol. 59, pp. 1, 956-57. See also *Letters from Capt. Madge and Jogi Pantulu*, pp. 1,352-51.

21. Resolution of the Madras Government, 29 December, *idem*, pp. 1,476-77, and *Madras to Masulipatam* of the same date, *idem*, p. 1,480.

22. *Madras Letters Received*, 4 November, 1767 (Bourchier), para 10, Vol. III.

23. Maltby gives his surname as "Dabber". See, the *Garjam District Manual*, p. 114.

I think that this statement is incorrect. For one thing the *Madras Military Consultations* clearly spell it as "Dabber". Further I have every reason to believe that Akkāji's family, which obviously belong to the Vyāpārī sect of the Andhra Brahmins, has had considerable experience under the Marāṭha rule of Cuttack and the adjacent territories. Historically Marāṭha terminology still survives in the Sarkars, especially in the lower rungs of the revenue machinery. Dabir (Persian) means a writer. See, *Wilson's Glossary*, s. v. p. 116.

24. *Masulipatam to Madras*, 7 November, 1767, *Milit. Cons.*, 16 November, Vol. 60, pp. 1,314-15. Their proposals are given as specimens of renters' proposals at this time in Appendix "D" No. 1 to this thesis.

25. *Masulipatam to Madras*, 7 November, *Milit. Cons.*, 23 November, Vol. 60, pp. 1,314-15.

26. Extract from *Jogi pantulu to Masulipatam*, *idem*, pp. 1,316-18.

These two considerations induced the Madras government to reject the proposals of Nārāyaṇa Deo even at the risk of the peace of the country, as events shortly demonstrated.<sup>27</sup> This reluctance on the part of the Madras government to strengthen the power of any single individual in the Chicacole Sarkar constrained them to outline a further instalment of their policy of decentralisation. According to this, apart from the separate agreements with Akkaji for the Ichchāpuram district and Sitārāma Rāzu for the Vijayanagarāṁ zamindari, they directed another individual agreement with Nārāyaṇa Deo for the Kimdi zamindari.<sup>28</sup> This departure from the traditional arrangement of a unified management of the Sarkar immediately resulted in the want of a controlling power and left the field open for the depredations of Nārāyaṇa Deo.

He at once took possession of the Ichchāpuram country in the name of Nizam Ali, and Akkaji was unable to maintain his ope against him. Masulipatam wrote to Madras that "until the Company's affairs are so situated as to enable them to send a force into the Circar sufficient to reduce these turbulent and powerful Zamindars, we are of opinion it will be impossible to secure almost any of its revenues otherwise than by renting it out to Sitaramrao who with his own troops and the assistance of Capt. Cassimjee's detachment may be able to exact from Narraindoo and all the other Zamindars the perpetual payment of their several assignment or should they refuse, to extirpate them from their possessions".<sup>29</sup>

Nārāyaṇa Deo's unchecked depredations had a disastrous effect on the Company's revenues. The Madras government was as yet helpless to interfere in the internal revenue administration of the Sarkar. As Masulipatam put it, it was "almost impossible to receive any advantage from Ichchāpur for this year, nor do we see anything can be done with it further than by ordering the Zamindars not to pay any part of the tribute to Narraindoo, and thereby reserve it to the Company to exact it from them when they are in a situation to send a force for that purpose".<sup>30</sup> Strangely enough, the Madras government did not countenance the fresh proposals of Sitārāma Rāzu for the rest of the whole Sarkar. Even though he had paid his share regularly and remained quiet during the disorders in the Sarkar,<sup>31</sup> they thought that if he was

27 *Madras to Masulipatam*, 19 November, 1767. *Milit. Cons.* 25 November and letters from Capt. Stedje and Jogi Vantulu, pp. 1264-65; Resolution of the Madras government, pp. 1265-67; and *Madras to Masulipatam*, 25 November, pp. 1281-82.

28 *Ibid.*

29 *Masulipatam to Madras*, 15 December, *Milit. Cons.* 25 December, Vol. 60, pp. 1492-93.

30 *Same to Same*, 12 January 1769. *Milit. Cons.* 18 January, Vol. 61, pp. 68-69.

31 In fact, Sitārāma Rāzu has also discharged in full the balance due from Raghava Rāzu for whom he stood security. See *Jogi Pandita to Masulipatam, Country Correspondence No. 14 for 1768. Milit. Cons.* 21 January, Vol. 61, p. 69.

entrusted with the rent of the Sarkar the hereditary quarrels between the Vijayanagaram and Kimidi zamindari would lead to a more dangerous crisis. Hence, they gave to Akkai, for a second time, the rent of a far larger area—the whole of the Chicacole *haveli*.<sup>32</sup>

The credit for this settlement devolved, on the shoulders of Jogi Pantulu. The Madras government placed it on the record that he had "exerted himself in such a manner in the business on which he has been employed as to merit our thanks. The Chief and Council (of Masulipatam) are therefore to be desired to acquaint him that his conduct has been much to our satisfaction."<sup>33</sup>

The following statement illustrates the position of the Chicacole revenues for 1768:

District,	Renter,	Rent in Rs.
<i>Chicacole Revenues (1768).</i>		
Vijayanagaram.	Shārāma Rāzu.	2,70,050
Vurati.	do.	12,000
Satyavaram.	Pāyaka Rao.	75,000
Chicacole <i>haveli</i> . <sup>34</sup>	Akkai and Jagasechha Rāzu.	1,58,500
Total Chicacole Sarkar.		Rs. 5,15,550

In this settlement the agreement with Pāyaka Rao opened a further stage in the decentralisation of the Chicacole Sarkar and more seriously undermined the power of the Vijayanagaram zamindari. The revenues of the Sarkar as compared with those for 1767 showed a decrease of two and a half lakhs of rupes. This was occasioned by the fact that no revenues were forthcoming from Nārāyaṇa Deo for his districts of Tekkali, Jalmar and Kimidi. His depredations not only caused the Madras government the loss of his tribute of Rs. 90,000 but also the rents of the Ichchāpuriam pargana and of the Naupada salt-farm valued at Rs. 2,25,000 a year. Otherwise, there would have been a gross increase of about Rs. 85,000 over the previous *jama*bandi. The most serious and direct loss to the Company was the expenditure of a lakh of rupes a year on the military detachments maintained in this Sarkar.

This settlement also ended in a failure. The initial successes of Nārāyaṇa Deo induced him to adopt a more ambitious policy. His

<sup>32</sup> Resolution of the Madras government, 15 January 1768. *idem* pp. 73–74, and *Madras to Masulipatam* of the same date, pp. 86–87.

*Masulipatam to Madras*, 14 February, *M.H.C. Co.* 22 February. *idem* pp. 205–07.

<sup>33</sup> Resolution of the Madras Government, 22 February. *idem* p. 209.

<sup>34</sup> An abatement of Rs. 22,500 was allowed to Akkai and his partner on the last *jama*bandi on account of losses sustained from Nārāyaṇa Deo's depredations.

troops ravaged the Rājān and Bobbili districts which belonged to Vijayanagara; "burning every village, they met in ruinous condition their route and by their rapid progress threatened of the Chicacole to lay waste (the) country."<sup>35</sup> The combined troops Sarker of Srirāma Rāru and the Company were not completely successful in holding their own against him. The condition of the country had gradually become worse and worse. Describing it, Masulipatam wrote: "We cannot but lament the present truly deplorable situation of that unhappy Circar, not only for the sufferings of its miserable inhabitants who have so lately and so severely been afflicted with a general famine and epidemical small-pox, but likewise for the bad consequences which must result from the depredations now committing to the Company, as well as by the immediate loss of revenue, as that Circar will, we apprehend, sink considerably in value by being deserted of (sic) its labourers who, we understand, are leaving it to take their residence in some other country less subject to devastation."<sup>36</sup> A remedy for this was urgently sought and this the Bouchier government found in the establishment of a residency at Ganjam with sufficient troops to handle the situation. Edward Cotaford was consequently appointed to carry through the first regular settlement of the Ichchāpuram pargana.

The Residency at Ganjam was originally established in accordance with the resolution of the Madras government of 2 December 1766.<sup>37</sup> Edward Cotaford, an engineer in the service of the Madras government was appointed the first resident to look after the Company's investment there.<sup>38</sup> The Court of Directors objected as a rule to the Company's military servants being drafted into the civil department. But without creating a precedent, they allowed Cotaford to

<sup>35</sup> *Masulipatam to Madras*, 8 April, 1768. *MSM. Cons.* 23 April, Vol. 61, pp. 381-3a.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> *Pub. Cons.* 2 December 1766, Vol. 24, p. 625.

<sup>38</sup> Cotaford was appointed a writer in the service of the East India Company in 1750. See, *Prinsep: Report of Services of Madras Civil Servants*, p. 85.

After seeing service as an engineer at the siege of Wandewash and Pondicherry and in the Manila war, he returned home in 1764 on account of ill-health. On his return to India in 1766 he was appointed resident at Ganjam which post he occupied till 1773. Later he was chief of Masulipatam and finally a member of the Madras Council in 1776. He returned home in 1780, and relinquished service in 1789. He attempted in vain to obtain his nomination as successor to Lord Macartney (1784). *India Office Tracts*, Vol. 51.

He gave evidence before the Committee of Secrecy of the House of Commons which drew up the *Fourth Report*. See, Appendix No. 24 to the *Fourth Report*.

choose the civil department and continue as resident.<sup>39</sup> Cotisford actually took charge of Ganjam in 1767 and reported on the disastrous management of the *naib* of Sītārāma Rāya which resulted in the depopulation of the district and loss to the Company's investment. But the rebellion of Nārāyaṇa Deo, compelled him to abandon his office and return to Madras. He was now reappointed to the residency to carry through a fresh revenue settlement of the present Ganjam district.<sup>41</sup>

On 16 April 1768, the Madras government issued lengthy instructions to Cotisford for the settlement of the Sarkar.<sup>42</sup> He was appointed, as they ran, to the residency at Ganjam. Cotisford's instructions for the specific purposes of reducing the rebellious zamindars of the Chicacole Sarkar. Col. Peach with his Bengal troops was detailed to assist him in his formidable enterprise. Cotisford was to have complete control of the Company's affairs at Ganjam,—commercial, military and dealings with local rājās labelled at this time as "country affairs." He was directed to assert the right of the Company to this Sarkar on the basis of the *farman* of Shah Alam and the *alifanqah* of the Nizām. The Sarkar itself was to be administered as of old and its three traditional divisions of Kasimkōṭa, Chicacole and Ichchāpuram were to be maintained. The chief and Council of Vizagapatam were to assume charge of the first two divisions, while Cotisford was to direct the affairs in the northern and most turbulent Ichchāpuram pargana.

Cotisford was directed immediately to proceed with the settlement of the *jumabandi*. He was to revive and accept the proposals of Akkūji for the rest of the pargana which were made prior to the rebellion of Nārāyaṇa Deo and "settle (the arrears) on the spot as you march with each Zamindar, calling them to account for the past and not suffering them to plead that they have paid anything to Nārāyaṇa Deo." The Madras government hoped that the presence of Col. Peach's detachment should make matters easy for Cotisford but at the same time they directed him to "acquiesce the Zamindars (that) it is not our intention to deprive them or their families of their ancient possessions or change the form of government. All we aim (at) is to establish order and regularity to prevent continual disputes..... We shall be attentive to protect each Zamindar in his established rights. We expect

39 *Madras Despatches*, 35 November 1766, para 49. Vol. IV, pp. 265—67. They ruled out of order a further recommendation of the Madras government in the case of one Stevens who enjoyed the rank of an engineer in their military department.

40 *Pub. Cons.* 18 May, 1767. Vol. IV, p. 356.

41 *Madras to Cotisford*, 26 April 1768. *MHR. Cons.* Vol. 61, pp. 540—48.

42 *Ibid.*



they will pay a due subordination to the ruling power and regularly discharge the rents settled for each district." As for the *jamsbandi* to be demanded from the zamindars, it must be "in proportion to their extent and value (and not to their situation or the force the Zamindar keeps up." The Company's troops would be stationed at convenient centres for the protection of the country.

Such zamindars as would not submit to the Company's authority must be compelled by force and "rooted out if they continue refractory." When a zamindar was settled with "a cowl must be given him for the country he is to hold, expressing the limits and the yearly rent, in which coin, in what lists, and where to be paid..... He must sign a formal agreement to pay annually or monthly so much for such a district and engage to live in continual obedience to the Company's authority." Finally, Cotsford was directed to furnish the fullest information on the Sarkar and plans indicating the situation of the zamindari.

The Madras government hoped that the policy enounced above should prove most beneficial to the Company's interest. They wrote to Cotsford: "By this method revolts against the Company's authority would be prevented, the revenue ascertained and each Zamindar ought to look to the representative of the Company (and) not (to) his own arms for protection and redress against his neighbours or foreign enemies."

Cotsford was further directed to act in harmony with Col. Pasch. The expenses of the detachment were to be defrayed by the Bengal Paymaster. But the expenses of Capt. Casemore's Madras battalion stationed at Chittoor must be charged to the Madras revenues. Cotsford was given a seat on the Councils at Masulipatam and Viscapatom when he happened to be at either of these places. Jogi Pantulu was deputed to assist him in his arduous task.<sup>43</sup>

On May 1768 Cotsford took his seat at the Masulipatam Council in order to acquire the preliminary knowledge of the organisation of the revenue affairs at Ganjam.<sup>44</sup> Since Jogi Pantulu was unavoidably prevented from proceeding with him, Kānāji Pantulu, who was a native of Ganjam and the go-between for the Company and the zamindars, and the renter of the Masulipatam salt and other farms, was appointed to assist Cotsford.<sup>45</sup> Cotsford was furnished with all the information available in the records of the Masulipatam Council who had so far been responsible for the administration, however superficial it had been for this Sarkar. He was specially supplied with a short statement of the revenues of the Sarkar from the time of the appointment of Anavardi

<sup>43</sup> *Madras to Cotsford*, (Milit.) 30 April 1768, Vol. 60, pp. 540-48. See also *Madras to Masulipatam and Viscapatom*, 27 April, *idem* pp. 549-51.

<sup>44</sup> *Masulipatam to Madras*, 1 May, *Milit. Cons.* 28 May, *idem*, pp. 617-18.

<sup>45</sup> *Masulipatam to Madras*, 1 May, *Milit. Cons.* 28 May, Vol. 61, pp. 637-48.

Khan by Nizam-ul-Mulk to the year during which "the utmost confusion and disorder had prevailed throughout the whole province",<sup>46</sup> Cotsford sailed to Ganjam on 21 May 1768, with Rs. 20,000 supplied by the Masulipatam Council along with the stores necessary for the establishment of his residency.

Cotsford reached Ganjam even before Col. Peach's detachment had arrived there. Masulipatam got a fresh settlement sanctioned in view of the fact "that the sooner the renter is invested with the management of the country, the greater will be its value to him; consequently, the higher will be his proposals; or, what is a more material consideration the payment of his rents will become the surer by his being able to procure from the farm the wherewithal to discharge them."<sup>47</sup> As Cotsford was as yet unable to handle the situation, Vizagapatam was temporarily put in charge of the affairs, while Masulipatam directed the general line of conduct to be pursued.<sup>48</sup>

The principal task of the Madras government in implementing a fresh settlement was to restore peace in the country and inspire confidence in the minds of cultivators. A measure of the nervousness of the people in general and the paralysed state of cultivation at this time

will be found in the fact that most of the wealthy inhabitants had fled to Cuttack and no *adhikars* were forthcoming to offer the customary security to renters. There were two principal reasons for this state of affairs. The first was, as Cotsford had pointed out, "the remissness of the renters of the country and their leaving the discharge of their duty to the care of others owing to their engaging in more than they can execute".<sup>49</sup> The other was the system of annual leases, in depreciation of which Masulipatam wrote that "some method should be fallen on to render the Circar less subject to these destructive convulsions and to procure to the husbandmen a return more adequate to his labor than what will be ever allowed him by a yearly renter who, having the country for a short period, neither will take pains nor can afford to encourage the inhabitants and make them the necessary advances for the cultivation of it."<sup>50</sup>

(To be continued)

46 Same to same, 17 May, *idem* 8 June, *idem* pp. 736-37.

47 Same to same, 8 June, 1768, *idem* 11 June, *idem* pp. 739-41. Resolution of the Madras government, p. 741, and *Madras to Masulipatam*, 15 June, *idem* p. 751.

48 *Madras to Vizagapatam*, 15 June, *idem* p. 751-52.

49 Cotsford to *Madras*, Chilacole, 15 June, 1768. *Milit. Cons.* 27 June, Vol. 62, pp. 797-98.

50 *Masulipatam to Madras*, 23 June, *idem* pp. 791-92.

## HINDU MUSIC UNDER A SULTAN.

M. RAMAKRISHNA KAVI, M.A.

A few Muhammadan sovereigns in spite of their tendency to destroy the holy monuments of the Hindu religion have spared their fine arts, especially music and poetry. The reigns of the Moghul kings especially of the first three or four emperors are marked with great religious toleration, and they revived even the ancient arts of the Hindus to such a degree that the world would interpret that they adopted Hindu religion and art. During the Moslem administration chief executive officers were still the Hindus and in several cases the Hindu generals led their armies. Thus the influence of the Hindu service was brought to bear upon their rulers in matters of taste and luxury. But till the Moghul Empire formed and settled itself, the Afghan Conquerors acquired the country by intrepidity, cruelty and terror and the destruction of its memorable treasures of art and literature more than their sword, induced the Hindus to submit immediately, sometimes even without a blow. Even among the sultans themselves envy and treachery guided their policy and fortunes. The mightier swallowed up the weaker as the Indian politicians call it 'the law of the fish' *matsya-nyaya*. In the midst of such upheaval and confusion in the political world there are stray instances worthy of notice of Sultans, who had glorified the Indian fine arts, and incidentally their own fame, by their munificence and display of luxury. Ghias-ud-din Muhammad, the sultan of Māndvi in Guzerat liberally entertained the literary and musical courts and an instance is noted by Vīṭṭhala, a Telugu writer,<sup>1</sup> that his father was honoured by that sultan with a thousand tolas of gold for demonstrating the twenty two *rūpas* in Indian music. In the court of Alim Shah of Guzerat, Mappāna wrote his *Saṅgītamāṇḍana*.<sup>2</sup>

1. तत्पुत्रो लोकमित्रः सुभगजनमनोभास्वरौ विष्णुमह-  
 भार्यास्यो माण्डवीशं महमदुगायाजलीनं सुरत्राणमेव ।  
 ... ..  
 अन्यैर्विज्ञापितोऽभूदिति यवनवतिर्नापरसूर्यशास्त्रे ॥  
 सुरत्राणः सैरं स्वयमपि समाश्लिष्य समितौ  
 अतिप्राधान्यत्वं स्वरसुगदिमेदप्रकटनम् ।  
 दशप्रणान् वासां ... ..  
 विलोक्यार्थं वादादशशततुल्यं स्वर्गमनुलम् ॥

Vīṭṭhala's Telugu commentary on *Saṅgītaratnākara*.

2. Ms. is in the Jain Library of Patnan (page 59 Catalogue of Patnan Mss. *Goswami series*).

The subject of this paper is to introduce another Sultan who had only a passing notice in the political history and demands our grateful mention for his greater liberality resulting in more permanent results. He was the ruler of Kaṭa (Kara) a city on the southern bank of the Ganges about 40 miles from the Vānī (Allahabad) and was a feudal chief subordinate to the king Ibrahim (of Jaunpur). Ibrahim defeated and punished the king of the Gaudas for the oppression of the Prophet's faith and installed his more prudent son, who embracing the conqueror's religion retained his ancestral possessions.

In *Saṅgitaśiromani*, the work under notice, the authors speak of him thus:—

... .. संसामवद्विषु ।  
 असपत्नं व्यधाद्वाटूमिबराहिमभूपतेः  
 ... ..  
 घनाटोपं राजद्रुतदुरगसेनाजलधरैः  
 समं नीत्वाशङ्कं शकजलभसप्रार्थिपमयम् ।  
 दुराणैर्निर्माव प्रकटिततथं तस्य तनये  
 व्यधाद्वीरान् प्रीतः पुनरपि शकानां जनपदान् ॥  
 आशुहिमोदधरो च हिमाद्रेरा च राजनात् (Gazni)  
 आगीहादुज्ज्वलं राज्यमिबराहिमभूमुजा  
 अस्मैव सार्वभौमस्य प्रतापात्पृथिवीपतिः  
 मलिकः सुलतानाशिर्मध्यदेशाधिपोऽभवत्  
 गङ्गायमुनयोर्मध्ये गङ्गाया विपुले तटे  
 कदाचनं नगरं तस्य वेण्या योजनपञ्चके  
 ... ..  
 ... नगरस्यैव देशस्य च महापताः  
 बहादुरमलिकस्य पुत्रो ग्रन्थमचीकरन् ॥

3 The facts given in this quotation from *Saṅgitaśiromani* are confirmed by the following passages in the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. II, pp. 352-53, "Between 1409 and 1414 A. D. Ibrahim was persuaded by the saint Qutub-ul Alam to invade Bengal with the object of punishing Bajah Ganesha who, having acquired in that kingdom more power than its nominal ruler, was persecuting Islam. Ganesha on discovering that his persecution of Moslems was raising up enemies on all sides, promised to desist from it and permitted Qutub-ul Alam to convert his son Jajmal to Islam and the saint satisfied with this success persuaded Ibrahim to retire."

"The dynasty of Jaunpur is known as Sharqi or Eastern dynasty both from the title of Malikshah Sharq, king of the East held by its founder and from the situation of its dominions to the east of those of Delhi (Ghazni)".

The sultan of Kāṣā<sup>4</sup> gathered a large library in nāṭya and saṅgīta and invited the best scholars proficient in those subjects as well as in grammar, logic and mathematics to a conference. They came from all parts of India. At the conference the Sultan, in his presidential address pointed to the best of his collection and requested them to compose a work on music after due deliberation, discussion and the settlement of differences in various older schools, registering their conclusions and theories. Their combined effort, supported by the royal patronage and focussed to unanimity by the noble impartiality of the president, produced a large work in music called *Saṅgīta Śiramaṇi*. This work probably consisting of five sections embraces the whole field of the dance, instrument and music. The composers of the book, whose names are not found in the available portions of the manuscripts have furnished us the date of composition or the conference with details about the sultan and his sovereign. These details which proclaim their military glories fade away in importance before the curiosity and interest aroused in the minds of the scholars doubly bent on the academic research by a list of the choice works laid before the conference; thus giving an opportunity to determine the earlier dates of all those works mentioned therein.

The date of the composition or the time of the convention of the conference is given as V. S. 1485 and S.S. 1340 in the two śikhas then in vogue which corresponds to 1442 A. D. The chief works consulted by the leaders of the conference and about the convention itself are in their own words:—

सपादच्छं भरतनिर्मितं शास्त्रमादिमम्  
 आनाय दक्षिणाद् देशात् सुलुवासाहिरवतः  
 नानादेशागतान् ग्रन्थान्स्तदर्थानपरानपि  
 सङ्गीतसागरं रागार्णवं सङ्गीतदीपिकाय  
 सङ्गीतचूडामणि च वादिमन्त्राङ्गकुशम्  
 सङ्गीतरत्नाकराख्यं तथा संगीतदर्पणम्  
 तालार्णवं च सङ्गीतकल्पवृक्षं सविस्तरम्  
 संगीतरत्नावलि च सुन्दरत्नावलीनापि  
 संगीतमुद्रां संगीतोपनिषत्सारमुत्तमम्  
 संगीतसारकलिकां श्रीसंगीतविनोदकम्  
 आनन्दसंजीवनाख्यं तथा मुक्त्यर्थमपि  
 मनोहरं भारतीयव्याख्यानं बालबोधनम्

4 Kāṣā may be Kara, now a small zamindari near Allahabad.

पूर्णानपूर्णांनन्वांश्च संगीतज्ञैः कृतादरान्  
 संगीततत्त्वसंचितैः समाहृत्य महाशयः  
 पौरस्त्यान्दाक्षिपात्यांश्च पाश्चात्यानुचरोद्भवान्  
 पदवाक्यप्रमाणज्ञान् संगीतार्थविशारदान्  
 आनाप्य पण्डितानुचैर्मामहेमान्बरादिभिः  
 सत्कृत्वाह च संगीतग्रन्थाः संपादिता मया  
 नैतेऽल्पबुद्धिभिर्ज्ञेया गूढाश्चात्यन्तविस्तृताः  
 मनीषाभिरभिषादांस्तोषं ज्ञात्वा विरोहितान्  
 सारमुद्भूज संत्यज्य विरुद्धानि यथोचितम्  
 मार्गदेशीयसिद्धानि लक्ष्यान्यनुपमृत्वा च  
 ग्रन्थेनाल्पेन सर्वेषामेतेषामर्थसंग्रहम्  
 कुरुष्वमैकमत्येन निश्चितायां विपश्चितः  
 एवमाज्ञापितैः पाक्षैः सुलुवासादिरुचमम्  
 अपीकरदमुं नाम्ना श्रीसंगीतशिरोमणिम्  
 इभरादिमसमाप्तिं वाकराम्यं प्रस्तासति  
 वर्षे चतुरदशजते पञ्चाशतितमिहं मते  
 वैकुण्ठे त्रयविंशतिशतिसंख्ये च शाकके ॥

Fortunately, in the case of works on music the authors are either kings or their chief officers and this fact enables us to easily determine their chronology. But very few works give the list of books consulted by their authors. Śārāgaḍēva in *Sāṅgītaratnākara* (1230 A.D.) Hammira, the king of Śākambhārī in *Rājapurāṇa* in his *Śringārakāra*, (1300 A.D.) Alārāja in *Rasaratnadīpikā* (1330 A.D.), Jagaddhara in *Sāṅgītasarvavāra* (1430 A.D.), king Raghunātha of Tanjore (1600 A.D.) in *Sāṅgītamudhā*, Raghunātha in *Sāṅgītasāgīdhārā* (1700 A.D.) and an anonymous author in an anonymous work of a recent date, have favoured us with the names of their authorities.<sup>5</sup> Of course every work mentions

##### 5. Hammira:—

जैवसिंहनृपतिश्च रुद्रयो भोजविक्रममहीभुजौ तथा ।  
 जगदेकमहीपाठः केशिदेवोऽयं सिंहः  
 गणपत्यवनीशश्च जयसिंहादयो नृपाः

(Continued on next page)



some earlier names or cites older passages, such citations profuse in every branch of literature conduct for us a gallery of chronology where if one stop is fixed rightly the others are determined in relation to it. Thus the Sultan Sābi and others supply us the milestones of the chronology in musical literature.

*Sangitarāmanī* probably consists of five or six *prakāśas* or sections on *gīta* and *rāga*, *tāla*, *prabandha*, *prakīrtya* characteristics of songsters and flourishes in songs<sup>1</sup>, *vādyas* and *śrīya*; but out of which

[Footnote continued from previous page]

Allarāja.—

पूर्वाचार्यैर्विरचितं नाट्यार्णवमद्यापि च  
नाट्यलोचनमातन्द्रार्पणं भरतोदयम्  
भावप्रकाशनं चैव तथानृत्तरसागरम् (हारकम्?)

Jagaddhara—

नाट्यदर्पणसंगीतवल्ली संगीतशस्त्रं  
नाट्यलोचनसंगीतकल्पवृक्षौ निरुपयन्  
दशरूपं रत्नकोशं भरतोष्णादिकं तथा  
संगीतसर्वस्वमिदं तनोति भीमराजः

*Rāghanaṭha mentions— Nandavivāsaṅgīta; Tattvika-saṅgīta; Bharatigana; Brīhadīśa; Sangītasāmbhava; Itaromāṭasāṅgīta; Vidyāraṇya's Saṅgītasāra and Saṅgītaratnakara*

Rāghanaṭha —

रत्नाकरं दर्पणं च भरतं नन्दिकेश्वरम्  
कोटलं श्रीमद्वाक्यं शिवरत्नाकरं परम्  
तथा चन्द्रकलां चापि विभोक्ता विद्युच्छेदम् (!)

Anonymous author— Page 23 No. 4796 of Oriental Mus. Library; Mysore.

आदिनन्दि उभापोक्तं मोहनं नाट्यदर्पणम्  
संगीतकल्पवृक्षं च संगीतमणिदर्पणम्  
कुण्डलीदर्पणं चैव कुण्डलीमणिमूपगम्  
मुक्तावली नारदीये तथा मातङ्गसंहिताम्  
तालकलाविलासं च रत्नाकरसमाह्वयम् ।  
चतुरस्रमाविलासं बृहत्कविमते परम्  
शम्भुराजीयकं चैव तथाभिनवदर्पणम् ।  
मते च जैनसंपोक्तमात्मनेवमते तथा  
षष्ठितन्त्रं नाट्यशास्त्रं महर्षिमतसम्मतम्

the portions of the first and the fourth section alone are now available. An examination of the first section shows that the composers aimed at brevity and precision in both matter and expression; wherever more schools than one existed on any particular topic and those followed by the minority are also treated in addition to the general opinion. For instance after the treatment of three *grāmas*, *śhādja*, *madhyama* and *gāndhāra* as defined by the schools of Bharata the council proceeds to give the definitions of those maintained by Nārada, Harumān, and the author of *Vādimattagajānkula*, which are *vandyāvarta*, *jīmata* and *subhādra*.<sup>5</sup>

*Vādimattagajānkula* deals at length with *vandyāvarta*, *jīmata* and *subhādra* *grāmas* which have nothing in common with the three *grāmas* of the Bharata school.

नन्दावर्तोऽथ जमूतो सुभद्रस्तु तृतीयकः  
 तेषां तु लक्षणं स्पष्टं कथयिष्ये पृथक् पृथक्  
 षड्जकर्षभगान्धाराश्रयाणां जन्महेतवः  
 नन्दावर्तो भवेत् षड्जो जमूतो ऋषभापरा  
 गान्धाराश्च सुभद्राश्चो विज्ञातव्याश्चैव क्रमात् ।

In *Sangitadāra*, which is in the form of a dialogue between Śiva and Pārvatī, it is given as:

प्रथो प्रामात्तारमन्त्री धोरः स तु तृतीयकः  
 नन्दावर्तादयो प्रामा वैकुण्ठसन्मते यथा ।

adding the *murchāṇḍa* peculiar to these *grāmas* which agree with those enumerated by Nārada. But the learned council condemns this school thus:

प्रामाणामीदृशो लक्ष्य पाथो न बहुसम्मतम्,  
 रागलक्ष्मण्यसंस्पर्शौ चान्धिकाभिहावतः ।

*Grāmas* of this school are useful more for the regulation of *tānas* used in sacrifices than for the pleasure with which *rāgas* can entertain the public mind. Later on when the form of *prīti* interpreted by *śruti* values was altered by the permanent fixture of *freis* the old *grāma*-system became obsolete.

5. Bharata mentions only the *śhādja* and *madhyama* *grāmas* and abandons the *gāndhāra* as it is not useful to the *dhrustāgāna* in a drama. The *grāmas* are distinguished by the perfection of concordant or *samvādi* svaras either natural or strained. *Śhādja* *grāma* has natural *samvāditva* for three svaras, while a little strain on the panchama and *dhairvata* produces the *madhyama* *grāma* but the *gāndhāra* *grāma* has the least concordance unless the svaras are greatly shifted in *śruti* values. Thus Nānyadēva and Abhinavagupta say that it presents too low or too high a pitch. ("atītarāmandratvāt")

Among the works enumerated herein, Bharata's *Śāstra* leads the others, as the oldest. It is said that its extent is 1,25,000 *granthas*. *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata as available consists of 6000 *granthas*, while another work called *Dodāḍa-sāhāsi* is apparently lost. A number of verses quoted under Bharata by Śaṅkarasiddhi Jagaddhara, Śrinidhi etc., are not found in the available work.<sup>6</sup> Śāradātanaya and Tamil writers refer to *Panchabhāratiya* (five works in the name of Bharata and his pupils) and the following conjecture may induce research scholars to work out the problem in a more satisfactory manner:—

Bharata:	6,000		
Vṛiddha Bharata:	12,000	( <i>Dodāḍa-sāhāsi</i> )	
Kōhala:	(8,000?)		
Mataṅga:	6,000	(including portions on <i>vādyas</i> and <i>nṛtya</i> )	
Dattila:	2,000	do,	do,
Aśmakaṭṭa:	2,000		
Nakhaṭṭa:	2,000		
Gāndhārva vāda:	20,000		
Māṅgyaṭṭa:	6,000		
Nandī:	4,000		
Śiva and Pārvatī:	4,000		

Even such liberal and imaginary estimation does not take us beyond 72,000 *granthas*. Unless commentaries are included in Bharata's works the total of 1,25,000 cannot be made up.<sup>7</sup> Abhinavagupta alone gives us 40,000 *granthas* and Udbhata 8,000 (?), Lollata 15,000 (?) and Śaṅkuka 6000 (?). Kīrtidhara and Damañjaya have written independent works, and not commentaries on Bharata.

#### 6. अत्रार्थे मुनेर्भरतस्य वचनं यथा—

विभाषनावक वचः प्रमुखेज्यम्भे मनाङ्मुखमथ हयोध ।

समुद्भवेषु शिवु मानमासां स्त्रीणां मुनिदधाति समुद्भवाद् ॥

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सुखभूमिर्भवेद्रङ्गो नेपथ्यं वर्णिका क्षितिः

काव्यस्याल्पतया यत्र पात्रं नैव प्रदृश्यते ।

जगद्भर in मुद्राराक्षसव्याख्या ।

देवतादर्शनान्तं हि कर्तव्यं नाटकं युषैः ।

राजर्षिदर्शनान्तं वा ते हि देवैः समा मताः ॥

श्रीनिधि in his com. on *Anargharāghava*.

#### 7. Even Jyōtirmalla, Maharaja of Nāpal (1600 A.D.) says:

लक्ष्मण्यमिति नाटकसूत्रं । यत्कृतं भरतेन तु तच्छ्रुतम् ।

तत्तु पूर्णमिह नैव दृश्यते । वर्तते किमयं न वा तु यत् ॥

Bharata's work is said to have been obtained from the South.<sup>8</sup>

A brief notice may be taken of the other works. It is yet to be determined whether the convention intended any chronological sequence in the enumeration of the books kept at their disposal.

*Saṅgītasāgara* and *Rāgarasa*.—Nothing is known of these two works. A large fragment of Aśokamalla's book on *ṛtys* is available which bears no name in the manuscript, which has neither beginning nor end; it may be a section of *Saṅgītasāgara* or *Saṅgītarasa*. Whether *Rāgarasa*, *Tālarasa*, *Gitārasa*, *Deśanirītārasa* are independent works or sections of *Bharatārṇava* or *Saṅgītarṇava* can be ascertained only by further discoveries of some of these works. In some places the names of works are used as synonyms and in others as *rāghī*.<sup>9</sup> In others they have to be treated as different works e. g. *Saṅgītarṇava* and *Saṅgītaratnākara*, *Nāṭyarṇava* and *Nāṭyaritnākara* are separate books.

*Saṅgītatīpikā*.—was composed by Mādhavabhaṭṭa, a resident of Banares. It is a small work of 1000 *grantha*. Its author enumerates the three *grāmas* as *mandyāsuria* &c., and his division of the *rāgas* are based on *rāga-rāginī* system. King Ragaśāstra mentions this work in his *Saṅgīta-sūtra*. A copy of this work is found in the Tanjore Library. It was probably composed about 1200 A.D.

*Saṅgītasāhāya* the work of Jagadkamalla, a Western Chālukya king (1131-1145 A.D.) has at least five sections. He is full, clear and precise in thought and expression. Like his father, famous Sōmāyara, the author of *Abhināśādhikāśāhāya* and *Vikramādhikāśāhāya*, he spent his whole life among scholars of repute, as mentioned with honour by a poet:—

“विद्वज्जित्तरगोष्ठी जगदेकमतः”<sup>10</sup>

8 Bhartrihari states a similar instance of Patanjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, when it was lost in the north, was obtained only at Śrīparvata on the banks of the Kriṣṇa. Jagatjyōtirmalla, the king of Nepal, procured with great difficulty a copy of *Saṅgītasāhāya* (i.e. *Saṅgītasāhāyādhyāya*) from South India. Copies of Abhinavagupta's commentary are now procured only from Malabar, on which alone the printed edition is based.

9 “*Deśyanirītya-samudr-ābhya*” (Kallinātha's quotation), “*Deśyanirītyajaladhī*” (Vāṇabhaṭṭa), “*Deśyanirītya-paṇḍita*” (Jāyana)—are the synonyms of the same work when they referred to *pāda-pāṭh* (foot-poses).

10. *Tāḍādhya* (Section II) ends:—

यन्मात्रा महती कलामु कुशले यो यो गुणी गानिनाम्

चित्रं यस्य चरित्रमूर्जिततरं योऽक्षिनो नायकः ।

देशीतालनिबन्धलक्षणमिदं तैस्तेन पञ्चाशतं

स श्रीमान् जगदेकमहानुपतिः बालुक्पचूडामणी ॥

(Continued on next page)

*Vāṇimattagaśikṣā*.—is a small work of about 400 *granthas* of anonymous production but its authorship is ascribed to Bharata as the work begins—

प्रणम्य भरतो भक्ता सबदं शिष्यं शिवम् ।

गीतस्य लक्षणं पाह्वादिमत्तगजकुलम् ।

It follows closely the school of Nārada in music. The contents of the work after the introduction are given as follows:—

सप्तस्वरास्त्रयो प्रामा मूर्धनादपैकविंशतिः

ताना पेशेनपञ्चाशत् तिस्रो माथा स्यास्यः ।

स्थानत्रयं यतीनां च षट् हास्वानि रसा नव

वर्णाः षड्विंशदित्युक्ता माथाः स्युः सप्त पञ्चणाः

पञ्चाशीत्याधिकं द्वैतद्वीताङ्गानां शतं स्मृतम् ।

स्यमेव पुरा प्रोक्तं ब्रह्मण्यव्यक्ततन्मा

The whole work is available in Nepāl and Poona. For forty-two *śāśhāda* (versaculars) the author gives examples separately.

*Saṅgītarasikāra* is a work of Śārāṅgadhara (1250 A.D.) which is available in print with the commentary of Kallinātha. Kallinātha seems to have written his work about 1450 A.D. and was probably one among the Sultan's proteges.

*Saṅgītarāparṇa*. A work of this name is available everywhere but it is the production of Dīmodara of about 1600 A.D. For his son Anania was lieutenant of Veda the author of *Saṅgītarasikāraṇḍa*, who wrote it under the patronage of Śābāji father of Śīrāji. Hence the work referred to in the Sultan's collection must be an earlier production. A work called *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* is available to us but whether it forms the *Nāṭya* section of *Saṅgītarāparṇa* is yet to be known.

(Footnote continued from previous page)

*Nṛtyādhyaṭya* (Section V) closes thus:

दृष्टिर्दुर्गतिहोरिणी प्रणयिनां नष्टे शिरः भीरतौ

पाणिर्धस्य रणे विनम्रशिरसां रक्षाकृते क्षमाभुजाम् ।

दर्पोभातनरेन्द्रमस्तकतले पादश्च येनार्पितः

प्राज्ञोऽसौ मुकुतिः प्रतापनृपतिः सन्नुत्सवम व्यथान् ॥

इति श्रीमहाराजाधिराज श्रीमत्पतापचक्रवर्तिजगदेकमल्लविरचिते संगीतचूडामणी  
नृत्ताधिकरणं नाम पञ्चमोऽध्यायः ॥

*Saṅgītasamayāra* of Pārśvadeva is only an epitome of this fine work.

*Tāḍasaṃsa*. An early work referred to in *Tāḍabhaṭi* and *Tāḍa-  
raṭnākara*. There is a Tamil work of the same name which is probably  
its translation.

*Saṅgita-kalpanīkṣa* with *Vistara* or its commentary was  
written by Rāya Gaṇēśa, son of Vīrasūkha of Chāḍavāna family. The  
commentary was composed to please a great songstress called Māḍā.

*Saṅgitaratnāvalī*—There are two different works of this name  
written by different authors. Jāyana, the commander of the Elephant  
forces of Kākatīya Gaṇapati of Warangal (1163—1167 A.D.) composed a  
work of this name about 1140 A.D. Somarājadeva, the *pratiśāhā* (door-  
keeper) of Bhīmadēva II of Anahilapatak is another author of the work  
of the same name. The former work consists of eight chapters and the  
latter nine sections. Somadeva was the son of Jagadēva of Chāpotaḥa  
family who defeated Amir (of Sind). Sōmatāja was also the master of  
the Elephant forces. His work consists of 1,000 *granthas* and may be  
assigned to 1200 A.D.<sup>11</sup> Hammīra of Śākambhari mentions him with  
honour thus: "*prōkta īti Sōmatājēna nāṭyaśāstrādāvirīṇchīnā*". Sōmatāja  
was a commander under both Ajayapāla and Bhīmadēva, between whom  
Haripāla, the author of *Saṅgitaratnāḥkara* ruled for four years.

*Nṛttaratnāvalī*. This was written by Jāyasaṃpati mentioned  
above. It is divided into *mārga* and *coll* modes of dances each being  
treated separately in four chapters. It was composed in the Kull year  
4355, Ananda when Gaṇapati was reigning in Warangal.<sup>12</sup> It is one of

11. Sōmarājadeva closes his work thus—

आसीदुन्मीरलक्ष्मीहृत्हरजटदपौडवस्तुकुपाजः  
संप्रामोवापचापोल्लटकुलनलिनौषधचण्डांशुरूपी ।  
इत्यथः श्रीमीममर्तुरूपमकुटमणिः श्रीजगदेवनामा  
तस्य श्रीसोमराजः समजनि तनयः काश्यपीकन्यपुत्रः ॥  
प्रत्यर्थिप्रतिपालकाखरजनीशोःसम्भवद्वातय-  
श्रीसंरक्षणसौमिषः परकरिस्कन्धच्छिद्राफोषिषः ।  
यः पङ्कजकुलेस्म राज्यमखिलं चौलुक्यचूडामणेः  
श्रीमद्भूमिचपस्य तेन तदिदं द्वाःशेन शास्त्रं कृतम् ॥

12. इदानीं भारते वर्षे काले वेवस्वतेऽन्तरे, कलौ यातेषु वर्षेषु भूतबाणाग्निसगरैः  
मितेष्वानन्दसंज्ञेऽब्दे जगद्गानन्ददायिनि, शश्वलुचलबोलासिचशःप्रालेयरोचिषि  
... .. तौषेक्षितवीषहानरहस्यचविशारदे ॥  
मार्गदेशीविभागस्य विवेचनविचक्षणे महाराजाधिराजेऽसिन् गणपत्यवनीश्वरे ।  
समुद्रमेखलामेनां बाहुना रक्षति शमाद् या देशी वर्तते लोके सास्याभिः कथ्यते स्फुटम् ॥



the best works on *nr̥itya*, following Abhinavagupta and Kirtidhara for *mārga* type and Mataṅga for *dh̥rti* system. The author traces the *Chitra Gaṇḍali* dance to the aesthetic conceptions of Bhūloṣamalla-Someśvara.<sup>13</sup>

*Saṅgītamudrā*. Nothing is known about it and no reference to it is found in any other work.

*Saṅgītopaniṣadsāra* is a work by Sudhākaraśa, a great Jain scholar, pupil of Rājasēkhara of *Maṇḍhārīgachcha*. The author composed the *Saṅgītopaniṣad* in 1310 V. Ś. and its *sāra* in 1406 V. Ś. which corresponds to 1324 and 1350 A.D. He had the title of *Vāchanāchārya*. He was an ornament of the court of Bhavēśa<sup>14</sup>. The work is divided into six chapters. He mentions Dargā, Kōhala, Dattila and Bhōja. It extends over 1,000 *granthas*. Of the other Jain writers on music we may mention Pārśvadeva (of *Digambara* sect) and Maṇḍana who composed *Saṅgītasamayana* and *Saṅgītamāṇḍana* respectively.

*Saṅgītasārakalikā* was the work of a mathematician Mōksha-dēva who lived about 1300 A.D. The work is divided into 3 sections on *gīta*, *vādyā* and *nr̥itya* in which the *tāla* portion of the *vādyā* section alone is still missing. The rest of the work extending about 4000 *granthas* treats of in a concise form both the *saṅgīta* and *nāṭya* sciences. The author mentions with reverence Śrīraṅgaśa and, therefore, is later than 1350 A.D.

(Footnote continued from previous page)

This Gagapati was regarded as a great patron of letters, especially *saṅgīta* and probably as an author too. Hemadri, a king of Śākambhari (Sumbhari) extols him in his *Śrīraṅgaśa* (a *Saṅgīta* work in *saṅgīta* and *nāṭya*).

जैत्रसिद्धनुपतिश्च रुद्रटो भोजविश्रममहीभुजौ तथ ॥

जगदेकमहीपालः केशिदेवोऽथ सिङ्गणः ।

राजपत्यवनीशश्च जयसिंहादयो नृपाः ॥

13. Jāyana says.—

कल्याणकटके पूर्वे भूतमातृमहोत्सवे ।

सोमेशः कुतुकी कांचिद् भिल्लवेपमुपेयुषीम् ।

सृत्यन्तीमथ गायन्तीं स्वयं प्रेक्ष्य मनोहराम् ।

धीतो निर्मितवान् विश्वगोण्डनीविचभित्तयम् ।

यतो भिल्ली महाराष्ट्रे गोण्डिनीग्रामिणीयते ॥

14. सुडादिवन्धकमरीतिविज्ञो रागेषु तालेषु महाप्रगल्भः ।

गीते रसे चापि विशेषविज्ञो भवेदभूपालसमावर्तसः ॥ End of *Adhyāya I*.

*Sangittasindhu*. It is not known who composed the work and what portions of *grīta*, *gīta* and *vādyas* are treated in it. All the three copies available give us three different commentaries on a single verse which enumerates the categories in music proper. In two of the commentaries a portion of it on *Āśāślokinaya* (poses of hand) was lost and it was apparently restored by king Anūpasimha of V. Ś. 1649, as the manuscript was copied then. If only one *śloka* forms the work it is really a *vādyas* in music and the name of the book is quite appropriate.<sup>15</sup>

*Ānandasanjīvanī* is a work by the king Madanapāla probably of the 14th century. The leaf describing his genealogy, is unfortunately missing in the manuscript. He had the titles of Rāyakathāimalla, Rāyavibhāla and Paṇḍitapārijāta. The work is incomplete and stops in the third chapter. Madana's treatment is new and interesting. Kumbhakarṇa (1430 A.D.) quotes from this work. Madana may be identified with the author of *Madana pārijāta* and *Madanapāla-nighaṇṭu* which was composed in 1375 A.D. Though the kings of that name appear in the families of Qāshābhavālas about 1120 A.D., and the Rāstrakūṭas, about 1190 A.D., as Visveśvara referring to Madana in his *Karmasūpākā* mentions the above titles of him, he must be his patron. (1375 A.D.)

*Muktāvaṇṭi*. This is evidently an abbreviation for *Sangitamuktāvaṇṭi*. There are two works of that name, one by Devanachalla and the other by Devendrabhaṭṭa, copies of the both are available in the Tanjore Palace Library. Devendra quotes from Devana's work which seems to have been written about 1300 A.D., under the patronage of a Karpāta king. If the development of the theories in music and poses in dances is scrutinised, Devana's work appears to come between Śārangadeva (1230 A.D.) and Vēṇabhaṭṭapāla (1250 A.D.) It is probable that the work referred to is Devendra's which may be tentatively assigned to a date between 1320 and 1380 A.D. His *guru* was Rodra or Rodraṭa honoured by the scholars at the courts of the Āndhra, Karpāta,

16. नादप्रामपदस्तरा विधिगुणा वर्गा लयास्तानकाः  
आलयसो गमकाश्च तालरचना ज्योतिष्कस्तन्मूर्च्छनाः ।  
सिन्ध्याया गुरुरागरज्जम्बरा देशीकसाठज्जकाः  
वाद्यं चापि समस्तमुत्तपटनास्थानान्तरं पातुवः ॥

This *śloka* though found in five copies is still erroneous. Here *Vādyas* is of five kinds वाक, वोक, रेक, टेक, परिहासक. *Jyōtish* is of two kinds सावजना, निरवजना *Kāśā* are 72. *Guru*, 3 kinds दीक्षागुरु, परीक्षागुरु, शिक्ष्यगुरु.

Mahārāṣṭra, Gauḍa, Gūjara and Gwalior.<sup>16</sup> In the evolution of *Parva-ranga* of Bharata (Chapter V.) which was restricted to the exhibition of a drama great modifications have been made as time went by and the latest was introduced in the daily performance of dance in the form of *Puṣhpāñjali*. About 1200 A.D., quite a modern system of combination of dance, instrument, and vocal music came into vogue and the oldest description of it available is found in Devendra's work, then in the *Saṅgītarājanīya* of Dāmodara and afterwards in *Saṅgītanamakaraṇa* of Veda. Devendra was a profound scholar in grammar, logic, and *mīmāṃsā* and frequently quotes from the opinions of scholars of the Āndhra and Karpāta countries.<sup>17</sup>

*Bālābodhana*—This appears to be a commentary on Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra* and seems to have been composed about 1250 A.D., and the work is not mentioned elsewhere. On the *Nāṭya Śāstra* of Bharata, (i.e., the *Shāstrosāra*), Udbhata, Lollata, Śālikuka, Ghaṭaka, Kīrtidhara, Abhinavagupta, Jagadeśakavalla, Śrīrangarāja have commented. Abhinavagupta's is the best among them. Śrīrangarāja is referred to as *Dharmapanyāśikya* by Achyutarāja of Vijayanagar (1530—1544 A.D.) in his work on the *śāstra* section.<sup>18</sup> Kumbhākara (1450 A.D.) studied completely four of the above commentaries, and Jāyana (1240 A.D.) was well acquainted with Lollata, Kīrtidhara, and Abhinava. *Bālābodhana* is not available to us.

*Saṅgīta-Sīrṣamā* is found quoted by Gaṇapati Nārāyaṇa (probably of 1700 A.D.) in his *Saṅgītarājanīya*. The manuscript of *Saṅgīta-*

16. यो गोपाचल गौडगुर्जरमहाराष्ट्रान्ध्र कर्णाटक  
क्षोणीपाल समागत पुष्पेणीभिरभ्य समार्दितः ।  
श्रीरङ्गस्य गुरोर्गिरां पतिरपि वसतीति वचानुरी  
तस्या इतिशमाश्रये पश्युमं विद्यवतां शितये ॥

17. कर्णाट श्रमिद्धरेष क्रमो नैव विपश्चितः ।

(a) अन्ध्रा गोपाचलीयास्तु पोक्तरीत्या क्रमे त्रिदुः ॥ Gōpāchala is Gwalior.

- (b) श्वाहनृत्तं पृथक्त्वेन नेष्यते कमगुम्भितम्  
कर्णाटश्रमिद्धान्ध्राणां नदानां कम कर्मणाम्  
मन्दीश्वरमतात्तनु श्वाहनृत्तं सुवाहृतम् ॥

18. In the Commentary on his own *Tatābhāṣā*, in the *śāstra*  
आद्यन्तयोरनियमो विषमश्च पर्यवर्तितः ।  
मात्राधिक्यं च तस्यैव केचित्कापि पचयते ॥

Achyutarāja says : केचिदिति रङ्गराजप्रभृतयो भरतमाप्यन्याख्यातारः (विषम  
महस्यलक्षणं भट्टलोकेशकृष्णप्रभृतिनां मतस्य भिन्नत्वे नाहुः)

*śīromāṇī* are found in the libraries of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, and of the H. H. the Maharaja of Bikanir. Both of them are incomplete. The Society's copy extends over the *gīta* section alone. The first leaf of this manuscript gives the beginning of a different work on *tālā* and has no connection with the text of *Sangitaśīromāṇī*.

One of the colophons reads—

इति श्रीमल्लिक शरक मुलतान साहेबदेवेन

नानादेशीयपण्डितमण्डलीविरचिते संगीतशिरोमणी तानप्रकाशः ॥

The copy of the Library of H. H. The Maharaja of Bikanir extends over sections of *prabandhā* (musical composition) and *prakṛtya* miscellaneous. Someśvara and his son Jagadekamalla are mentioned frequently as they are the great authorities on *prabandhā* compositions. If the whole work is available it would surely form a noble addition to the Library of Music.

In preparing the foregoing note on *Sangitaśīromāṇī* I am deeply indebted to the kindness of the authorities of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal for sanctioning the loan of their manuscript through the Curator of the Bhandarkar's Oriental Research Institute, Poona. I am very deeply indebted to the Bikanir Darbar for giving me copies of very rare works on Music available in the State Library. Particularly my thanks are due to the Prime Minister and the Director of Education of the State.

### Errata

In footnote 10, please make the following corrections. At the end of line 1, read: मानिनां for मानिनाम्; in line 2, read बोदक्षिणो for बोदक्षिणो and in line 4, read चूडामणिः for चूडामणी.

## EPIGRAPHIC NOTES

### The Dates of Rajaraja Narendra and Vijayaditya VIII.

B. V. KRISHNARAO, M.A. B.L.

In my Revised Chronology of the Eastern Chōlukyas,<sup>1</sup> I stated that the reign of Rājārāja or Rājārājanarāṇḍra began in Dundhubi, Ś. S. 944 and ended in Plava, Ś. S. 983<sup>2</sup> and, that the intervening Śaka years were counted as 41 years. That is to say, I stated that Rājārāja's reign lasted from 1022 to 1061 A.D. This view has been seriously contested in certain quarters and, therefore, it is the purpose of this short paper to show that there are four recorded dates in the inscriptions of the Vishnudevardhana-Vijayāditya VIII<sup>3</sup> (not VII as Dr. Fleet and other scholars who still follow him call) which go to establish beyond doubt that my supposition is quite reasonable and correct. Rājārājanarāṇḍra's reign began in Bhādrapada of Ś. S. 944 expired and ended sometime in the earlier half of Kārtika, Ś. S. 983, the corresponding dates in Christian era being August 1022 and October 1061. The recorded dates in question are as follows—

1. *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1018. Dakshināma, East Godavari Dist.

LI. 1—4: Śa(Śa)kavarahambulo 990 Svasti Sarvaśōkārāya śri Vishnudevardhana Mahārājula prayarōddhūmāna-vijayarāja samvatsarā(10) 8 dīna 11 Viśa(Śa)khapattana(na)mana Kamma kōmasti Mōḍiyasseṭṭi koḍuku Pāpaya Tulā-māsamuna Kṛṣṇa-pakṣamuna trayōdaśi....."Hail! On the 11th *nīti* in the dark fortnight of the Tula month, which is the 11th day of the 8th year of the augmenting victorious reign of the glorious king Vishnudevardhana-mahārāja surnamed *Sarvaśōkārāya*, Papaya, son of Mediya-seṭṭi, a vaiśya of the Kamma Co., Andhra country<sup>4</sup> and resident of Viśākhapattana etc." The details of the date correspond to 26th October 1068 A.D. It must now be obvious that as the 8th year fell in Ś. S. 990, the 1st year began in Ś. S. 983 according to the theory advanced by me, namely that when our king's reign ended and he

1 *JAHRS.* Vol. IX, Part IV, pp. 1—22.

2 *Ibid.* See chart facing p. 32.

3 When Dr. Fleet wrote (*J. A. XX*, pp. 274—276) the reign of Vijayāditya-Bādapa was not known. Therefore he called Vijayāditya, younger brother of Rājārājanarāṇḍra, Vijayāditya VII. Now that Bādapa also appears to be a Vijayāditya, he is to be designated as Vijayāditya VII and Vijayāditya, son of Vimalāditya is to be styled as Vijayāditya VIII.

4 In Kalinga and Orissa, the name Kamma refers to the Andhra country in contradistinction to Kājaka which indicates Kalinga or Odra. For instance, the Andhra brāhmanas are referred to as Kamma brāhmanas by the Oriyas.

successor's reign began in one and the same Śaka year, the year was counted twice over, firstly, as the last year of the deceased monarch and secondly as the initial year of his successor. According to this view Ś. S. 983 becomes the last (41st) regnal year of Rājārājanarāṣṭra and the first year of his successor Vijayāditya VIII. Moreover, the date of the above-mentioned record fixes precisely the date of Vijayāditya's accession. If the 13th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Tula month in Ś. S. 990 was the 11th day of the 8th year, it follows then quite logically that the 13th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Tula month in Ś. S. 983 was the 11th day of the first year of Vijayāditya VIII. And that means Vijayāditya's reign began actually on the 3rd *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Tula month. This date corresponds in Christian era to 22nd November 1061 A.D. This date agrees substantially with the date (October 1062 A.D.) already proposed by me for the commencement of Vijayāditya's reign (*Ibid.*).

## II. S.I.I Vol. IV, No. 1013: Dakṣhārāma

Li. 13-4: Śākāhāre caṣṭhāga-rachūhṛa gaṇiḥ kaṇṭhāḥ gaṇiḥ bhāṭikarḥ..... Śākav(rasambhu\*) 986 | Svasti Sarvaśūkhārāya 91 Viṣṇu-vardhana mahārājula pravarddhamaṇa vijayaśīva sathi 3 oḍagu nṛpati Kanyāśukhārānti olmittamuna..... "On the occasion of the Kanyā-Saṅkṛānti (Sua's entry into the zodiacal sign Virgo) in Ś. S. 986, in the 3rd year of the glorious great king Viṣṇuvardhana surnamed *Sarvaśūkhārāya*....." If the Ś. S. 983 could not be the first year, Ś. S. 986 ought to be the 4th year. But this apparent discrepancy can easily be explained. The Ryāli plates of Vijayāditya VIII state that Śākavarman II reigned for one year after having been placed on the throne by his father out of paternal love, and then passed away.

*Grīhitaḥ su-suta anāhāt rājyam tṛt Śaktīnirmat |*

*nyastam taṁśa dharma-īkām anarakṣayaḥ - śaṁśa divyaḥ gaṇiḥ |*

If we deduct this one year from the period under review, we find that Ś. S. 986 becomes the 3rd year. Again it appears from another verse of the same record that after the death of his only son, Vijayāditya VIII, or Vijayaśīva as he called himself also, ascended the throne once more,—rather resumed the kingship which he had apparently laid down in preference to his son,—out of regard for *dharma*, like Pārtha after the death of Abhimanyu.

*Aprāptanubhavaḥ suta vidhivataḥ prapt = Abhimanyu = evaḥ |*

*svarggam tyakta ruchi-sukhāśu Vijayādityādhipaḥ Parthivāt ||*

This verse clearly denotes that towards the closing years of his reign, Vijayāditya VIII had ceased to reckon his son's period of a year on the throne as being different from that of his own. He reckoned accordingly his own regnal period from Ś. S. 983. This is clearly borne out by the following record.



III. Rajahmundry Stone Inscription, Ep.Col. No. 400 of 1933-34. Published by me in the *Bharati* 1933. Part 2, p. 468, in Telugu.

Ll. 2 & 4 Śākābde yuga-panda-vandhira gantī Chaitraṁ gatē bhāskarē

\* \* \* \*

Svasti Sarvaśōkāsraya Śrī Viṣṇuvardhana-mahārājula pravardhamāna vijayarājya saṁvatsa(ra\*) 12 śrāṅgī Viṣṇu-saṁkrānti-nimityarbhuna .... "In Ś. S. 991 (randhira=9, panda=9 and yuga=4) when the sun has entered the asterism Chaitra, on the auspicious occasion of the Viṣṇu saṁkrānti, in the 12th year of the glorious great king Viṣṇuvardhana surnamed Sarvaśōkāsraya....." The corresponding date in Christian era for this is 21st September 1073 A. D. Reckoning from Ś.S. 983 as the 1st year we get the 12th year in Ś. S. 994.

The Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, thinks that Viṣṇuvardhana mentioned in these records could not be taken to be Vijayāditya VIII. (*I.R.S.I.E.*, 1931, p. 56). He says, that, "normally 'Vijayāditya' would not be designated as a 'Viṣṇuvardhana', and with this dynasty beginning with Viṣṇuvardhana III down to Amma II, that practice was for the monarchs to assume the surnames Viṣṇuvardhana and Vijayāditya alternately....." So far his statement is correct. But he has not taken notice of the fact that from Śaktivarman I (991-1011 A. D.) onwards down to Rājāra II (1146-1173 A.D.) that practice was not followed. Every Eastern Chōlaka king during this period called himself only by the surname Viṣṇuvardhana without a single exception. There is no wonder, therefore, in Vijayāditya VIII assuming the surname Viṣṇuvardhana like his elder step-brother. The learned Epigraphist is, not unaware of the record on Kyali plates of Vijayāditya VIII (*C. Pa. Nos. 8 and 9 of 1922-23*) wherein the king calls himself 'Śrī Viṣṇuvardhana Mahārājādēhārāja'. So the objection that Viṣṇuvardhana mentioned in the above records might not be Vijayāditya VIII is not sound. Again, the learned Epigraphist throws out a suggestion that Viṣṇuvardhana might in all probability be Kulōttunga Chōḍa I. This suggestion, too, is hardly tenable. In the first place the Chellur plates of Vīra Chōḍa (*S.I.I.*, Vol. I, No. 39, p. 49 ff., verses 14-17) clearly speak of Vijayāditya's rule in Vēṅgi before Kulōttunga Chōḍa assumed the rulership of it. A number of his records found at Dakṣhārāma and elsewhere plainly show his reign began in Ś. S. 991, i.e. 1059 A.D. (*S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1015, 1021, 1029 and 1182). And this date obviously falls after the reign of his maternal uncle and rival, Vīra Rājendra Chōḍa. Still another objection to the learned Epigraphist's view is that in all the records of the Āndhra country, Kulōttunga Chōḍa I is referred to not merely as Viṣṇuvardhana, but as *saptama-Viṣṇuvardhana* or Viṣṇuvardhana VII and *Chakravartī Kulōttunga Chōḍa-devara*. (*Ibid.*) Above all there is the statement in the Chellur plates that Kulōttunga Chōḍa I assumed sovereignty directly over Vēṅgi.

only after the death of his uncle Vijayāditya, who went to heaven after reigning for fifteen years. It was only then that Kulōttunga sent his second son Rājarāja Mummāḍi Chōla to Vēngi as his viceroy. In the face of these facts, the learned Epigraphist's suggestion or doubt loses all its force and fails to carry conviction.

IV. *S. I. L., Vol. 19, No. 1012, Dakshārāma.*

Ll. 1, 4 & 6: (Śākābde śara-rathdhra munda-gaṇiś śrī Bhīma-nāthāya.....Śakavarsha(mulu\*) 995 svasti sarvaśōkārāya śrī Viṣṇu-varḍhana-mahārājāya pravardhamāna vijayarājya sambhavaśara(mulu\*) 13 gu nroṭi yottarāyapa nimitramusa..... "Hall. In the Śaka year 995, in the 13th year of the augmenting victorious reign of Viṣṇuvarḍhana mahārāja surnamed *Sarvaśōkārāya*, on the occasion of *yottarāyapa-yamkrānti* (winter solstice).....If Ś. S. 995 is reckoned as the initial year, then Ś. S. 995 becomes the 13th year.

From the foregoing it is clear that Rājarājavarḍha's reign, came to an end about the Tula-māsa or Kārtika in Ś. S. 983 corresponding to October 1061 A.D. and Vijayāditya VIII's reign commenced immediately, about same time.



### THREE COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE REDDI DYNASTY.

B. V. KRISHNARAO, M.A.S.L., and R. SUBBA RAO, M.A., I.T.

About two years ago when an old tank was being repaired at Kōrukonda, a flourishing village situated about 9 miles to the north of Rajahmundry, the Uppara tank diggers found in a corner of the tank-bed a small masonry structure. When it was destroyed, it is said, they discovered to their astonishment three complete sets of copper-plates and a number of other articles of which no accurate account is available. The Upparas took possession of the finds and taking them to be gold shared the spoils amongst themselves equally, after cutting the rings and destroying the seals. One of them, to whose share fell two large plates and three small ones, approached the village goldsmith, but was disappointed when it was pronounced that the plates were made of copper and that they would not bring any wealth. The news reached the manager of the Kōrukonda *Dharmashāstra*, who at once sent for the Uppara man, seized the plates and sent them to his friend Mr. B. V. K. for decipherment and publication. Some days later, three large and three small plates reached Mr. Nalam Krishnarao, President of the Gautami Library, from another source, and were passed on to Mr. R. S. R. through the intervention of a common friend. Quite accidentally both B. V. K. and R. S. R. came to know of each other's possessions. When they put the plates together, they discovered that they contained three different inscriptions, two complete ones and one fragmentary. The third set is incomplete, for one or two plates of that set must have been destroyed under the belief that they were gold. The fragmentary record is none the less poorer for the loss of its plates, for the donative and historically interesting portion which is engraved on the last plate remains with us. We then decided to publish these three inscriptions under our joint names in the pages of this Journal. These three records belong to the Reddi dynasty, and their discovery in one spot throws a suspicion that they probably belonged to one and the same family. The first record belongs to the reign of Kumāragiri (circa 1382—1403 A.D.) and the remaining two including the fragment belong to the period of his brother-in-law, Kātaya-Vēma founder of the kingdom of Rājamahēndranagara. (Rājamahēndri or Rajahmundry).

#### I. Anaparti Grant of Kumāragiri, dated S. B. 1312.

The record is engraved upon five copper-plates, each measuring roughly 11" by 5", which are numbered. The first three plates are slightly longer than the two outer ones; the plates contain round

holes to their proper left through which passed a ring containing a seal which is now missing. The edges of the plates are slightly raised into rims so as to protect the writing on them. The plates are in an excellent state of preservation. The writing on the plates is not uniform; it discloses apparently the hand of more than two scribes. The writing on plates i (b), ii (a) ii (b), iii (a) and iii (b) seems to be very careless, and the letters are not well formed or shaped. The writing on the two sides of the fourth plate is neat and the letters are beautiful and shapely. Again the letters on the last plate appear to be in a totally different hand altogether. Moreover, the number of lines on each plate is not uniform. On plate i b, there are 7 lines; on ii a and ii b there are nine lines each; on the iii a there are ten lines, while on iii b there are only 9 lines again. On the remaining plates there are ten lines on each side. Thus the inscription runs in all into 82 lines. The presence of three varieties of writing, of three different scribes apparently, and the un-uniform size of the plates throw a reasonable suspicion on our minds, whether all these five plates contain only one inscription. Against this view, however, there is the fact that there is the continuity of the record; and, therefore, we may safely conclude that this inscription was engraved upon the copper-plates by at least three persons. That perhaps is the reason why the scribe is not mentioned at the end. The letters are not properly incised on the first three plates; nevertheless, the letters are clear. On the remaining plates, the letters are deeply and clearly cut.

The characters used are Telugu of the old type and belong to the period to which the inscription relates. There are, however, certain instances in which the characters differ from the modern letters. The *śaśaṅga* or the secondary form of *ś* looks like a semi-circle, and the *guḍi* or the secondary forms of the vowels *i* and *ī* appear like the upper half of a circle. To denote the secondary form of *i* the scribe has used a small loop-like curve at the left end of the semi-circle. The secondary form of *e* looks like a sickle, and no distinction is made between *e* and the secondary *ē* and similarly between *o* and *ō*. The use of a perpendicular sign at the bottom to distinguish the aspirated from the unaspirated forms of some consonants is not employed. The reader is therefore obliged to read the letter either as unaspirated or aspirated according to the context. The letter *ḍā* is distinguished from *ḍa* which is written without a *śaśaṅga*. Otherwise the distinction is not to be met with in the other forms of *ḍā*, for instance in *ḍāḥ*, *ḍāḥ* and *ḍāḥ*. Similarly no such distinction is drawn from *ḍ* and *ḍ* and *ḍā* and *ḍ*; one has to make them out from the sense. The only orthographical peculiarities that are worth mentioning are that when *r* is the initial letter in a compound letter it is written as in Nāgarī sometimes as a curved stroke on the right top side of the letter. (L. 47, 51, 52, 53 etc.) *Anusvara* is used in places throughout where *m*, *ṃ* or *ṁ* is to be used. The language employed in the inscription is Sanskrit and the record is in

verse throughout. It contains different metres, at the end even the boundaries of the village, which are in Telugu are freely mixed up with Sanskrit language and are mentioned in verse.

This inscription is important and interesting for several reasons. This is the only record on copper plates of the reign of Kumāragiri, one of the fortunate sovereigns of the illustrious Reddi dynasty of Kondaviḍu, which has been so far discovered. The charter being a contemporary record, the historical information provided by it has a greater value. This inscription which is luckily dated, fixes the date of the conquest of Kalinga by Kumāragiri. It is also interesting for the reason that it makes a clear reference to the contemporary rulers of the neighbouring kingdoms and the political relations that prevailed between Kumāragiri and his contemporaries. Kumāragiri's contemporary in Vijayanagara was Vira Harihararāya II, at Gulbarga (Kalubergel) Sultan Faruq Shah and in Kalinga Vira Nṛsiṃhasaḍḍeva IV (1378-1413 A.D.)

The inscription opens with invocations of Vishnu (verse 1) and of the Moon (verses 2-3). It then refers to the Mountain Mṛṣu, which is the support of the three worlds, and then to Bhāratavarsha which lies to the north of it. In Bhāratavarsha lies Bharata kṣapḍa, the abode of prosperity, where arose many mighty kings of the Kshatriya race who protected the earth for a long time. In their line was born a mighty king known as Pratāpa Rudra, the moon to the ocean that was the illustrious Kākatiya family.

The inscription then goes on to state that after Pratāpa Rudra, had passed away, the land meaning the empire was enveloped in darkness just as after the setting of the sun. The country became infested with thieves, robbers and lawlessness, and terror prevailed for some time. Then to the delight of the world i. e., the kingdom and the people there was born in the family that sprang up from the feet of Vishnu a great king named Vēma(1), whose spotless fame spread far from the Sōru (Rameswaram) to the Himalayas. He was a great warrior; by the strength of his arms and valour, Vēma conquered a kingdom and acquired the epithet *Vira-Nārāyaṇa*, for he had 'lifted' the earth that was sunk in the ocean that was the Yavana or Muhammadan army like God Nārāyaṇa himself and thus freed the country from the Muhammadan occupation. He built a flight of steps from the bank Pātāla Ganga, i. e., Krishna to the top of the Śrīśaila Hill where resides the Lord Mahēśa, (Śiva.) He performed all the *dānas* (gifts) mentioned by Hēmadri. He had two sons, the glorious Anna-Vōta and the great king Anna-Vēma. Anna-Vōta conquered his foes, captured their forts and thereby extended the borders of his kingdom. Anna-Vēma became king thereafter who like his father performed all the choicest gifts (*dānas*) described by Hēmadri and delighted the hearts of the forlorn and the distressed. Anna-Vōta had a son named Kumāragiri, the abode of fortune, who was

well versed in all arts and sciences. By celebrating spring festivals (*vasantotsava*) in his kingdom, Kumāragiri acquired the epithet *Vasanta raya*. Kumāragiri's son was Vīra Anna-Vōta (II) who was equal in prowess and valour to his grand-father whose name he bore. Anna-Vōta II shone like Kumāra (Kumārasvāmin) in beauty and valour as well. Having seated the young prince on his lap, king Kumāragiri performed the *Tula-dāna* or *Tulāparusha-dāna* at Dakshārāma (now misspelt as Dīkshārāma). With the object of bestowing upon his son Prince Vīra Anna-Vōta, a large kingdom by occupying new territories, king Kumāragiri summoned his brother-in-law, the great prince Kāṭaya-Vēma, who was his minister and generalissimo, to his presence and spoke to him thus: 'The kings of the northern and southern as well as the western regions have always been eagerly on friendly terms with us of their own accord. Only the kings of the eastern quarter and beyond the Śimhādri hill (i. e., Simbachalam in Vizagapatam district), have not been our allies. They are, therefore, to be conquered and their territories annexed to our dominions'. Thus commanded by king Vasantarāya, who was an ornament of majesty, valour and splendour, the great hero Kāṭaya Vēma declared his departure with a large army causing thereby great distress and affliction to the enemies. He left Śailapura (literally 'the city of the hills', i. e., Kopdevide and arrived in the city known as Rājamahēndranagara. There, within the walls of the city, stood the celebrated shrine, the abode of the Lord Gōpilātha, the destroyer of the intoxicated *Asuras*, having been established in that spot by the sage Śuka-Brahma. With the desire of obtaining success to his arms in the expedition, the high-minded Kāṭaya-Vēma worshipped Gōpilātha, the lord of the Universe and then took a vow that if he returned victorious from his eastern expedition he would assign a beautiful village for the worship of the deity.

Then, at an auspicious moment and agreeable time, Kāṭaya-Vēma sounded the kettle-drum and set out with his army against the rulers of the eastern quarter with the object of conquering them and extending the dominions of his sovereign. He conquered the rulers of the kingdoms that lay between the Vindhyādri in the north and the Śimhādri on the south, and placed his own officers in charge of all the important fortresses and towns in that region. He then levied tribute from the vanquished Gajapati, ruler of Cuttack, the foremost among the kings of the eastern region, who offered numerous rutting elephants, horses, jewels and precious metals and other kinds of valuable ornaments. These and other rich spoils of war, the victorious Kāṭaya-Vēma carried to Kopdevide and presented them to his sovereign Kumāragiri.

Being pleased with the heroic exploits of his brother-in-law Kumāragiri rewarded him suitably in various ways. Thereafter Kāṭaya-Vēma returned to Rājamahēndranagara with prince Anna-Vōta II, surnamed Vīra-Nārāyaṇa who was appointed as Viceroy of the newly



conquered kingdom of the east with its capital on the banks of the Godavari.

While staying at Rājamahēndranagari, Kātaya-Vōṭa obtained permission from his sovereign Anna-Vōṭa II to make a grant of a beautiful and excellent village as a *dānabhōga* to the worship of the deity Gōpinātha. Accordingly, Kātaya-Vēmāreḍḍi summoned to the royal presence of his master Anna-Vōṭa, Śingaya and Vengala of the Vaikhāṇasa-*śulka*, the priests of the deity Gōpinātha, and treated them with suitable presents. Prince Anna-Vōṭa then spoke to them as follows: "You are the *archakas* (priests) of the Great Lord Gōpinātha, who has been the protector of the fortunes of our great kingdom and the cause of our ever increasing prosperity and victories in our recent expeditions against our enemies. For the worship of the God Gōpinātha. We now give away an excellent great village."

The grant then mentions the date. It was made in the Śaka year 1312 expressed by a chronogram *astira-chandra jvalana-saṣi*, (in the reverse order, *saṣi*=1, *jvalana*=2, *chandra*=3, and *astira*=4, that is 1312), on the 7th day of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha. The exact equivalent of the date in Christian era would be Friday, 22nd April, 1390 A.D.

The object of the grant is the village of Anuparati on the river Tulyabhāvi, which was renamed as Annavōṭavaram after the king. Anuparati is the same as the modern village Anapariti, a railway station in the East Godavari district on the M. S. M. Railway. Tulyabhāvi is the same as Tulyabhāgā, once a holy stream that branched off from the Godavari somewhere down Rājamahēndranagari and joined the sea called Chellangi, a few miles at a place to the north of Cocanada. It is to-day used as a drain by the irrigation department, and except at the place where it falls into the sea the river had ceased to be a holy stream. The boundaries of the village are recorded with meticulous care and in verse. They are stated as follows: On the east, a village pathway called *Kaḍamula-punta* near the palmyra tops (*Tāṭi-taṇṇa*); on the west, *Tora-ganṇu*, (the meaning of which is not known); on the north, a boulder or a mound called *Umara-baṇḍa*; on the south, a village boundary pathway called *Velagala-punta* (lit. *punta* of the *Feronia elephantum* or Wood-apple trees); on the south-east, a mound called *Nērāḍa-baṇḍa*, (*nērāḍu* is *syagium jambolanum*); on the south-west, the holy stream Tulyabhāgā; on the north-west, a tank named after Pōka-Māsāya or *Pōka Māsāya-chēruru*; and on the north-east, a mound called *Kokkera-baṇḍa*. (*Kokkera* is a species of crane).

The inscription states at the end that prince Anna-Vōṭa II bore the epithet Vira Nārāyaṇa. The poetry of the record was composed by Annaya-koṭṭi, son of Pinnarāya and grandson of Manuma-Durga-

*sudhi*.<sup>1</sup> The *defacto* donees of the grant were the *archakas* who were said to be well versed in the worship of the deity. There were four of them Singaya, Vallabhārya, Veṅgaḷārya, and Arrala or Ayyalārya. A certain Vōbbalārya was appointed as the *śāhādālakṣipati*, and to him the king presented a palanquin, an umbrella, fly-whisks and other insignia of the office. The charter was apparently signed by the king, Kumāragiri, for the last plate contains the royal sign manual in Telugu characters as *Kumāragiri-ralu*.

As has been remarked above, the importance of the present charter lies in the fact that this is the first and only copper-plate-charter of king Kumāragiri (1382-1401 A.D.) that has been so far found. Kumāragiri's reign was indeed a glorious chapter in the history of the Redḍi Dynasty of Āndhra/Ēḍa. But somehow scholars have gathered an impression that it was most inglorious. It seems to us that historians in the past had done great injustice to Kumāragiri by wrongly assessing the glory of his reign or his character or greatness. Mr. Ch. Venkabhadrā Rao, writes thus:<sup>2</sup> "He (Kumāragiri) did not evince any interest in the affairs of state. He had more fascination for celebrating the Spring festivals (*Vasantotsava*). He did not possess the great talents of his father, grandfather and uncle. No doubt he was a great scholar but he was fond of the company of scholars, poets, dancers, musicians and courtesans, rather than that of soldiers and statesmen." Dr. N. Venkatarāmanayya also believes that Kumāragiri was an incompetent prince. Accordingly, he writes, "The task of defending the kingdom fell upon his brother-in-law and minister Kṛṣṇa-Vēma. Though Vēma was a capable general and a brave soldier, he could not resist the advance of Vijayanagara from the south and west. The territory extending from Śrīdallam to Tripurāntakam was lost between 1383 and 1385 and the district of Addanki together with the coastal strip appears to have been lost about the same time. A peace was probably concluded at this stage, for Kṛṣṇa-Vēma was busy fighting along the Kalinga frontier from 1385 to 1391."<sup>3</sup>

Mr. Ch. Venkabhadrā Rao's assumption, that Kumāragiri was a weak king, advanced without assigning any reasons, has to be rejected. Firstly the chronology of the Redḍi dynasty was not settled as it is even today even though a nearly quarter of a century had elapsed since the publication of his *History of Andhras* (Vol. III, 1916). Again in the estimation of Mr. Venkabhadrā Rao the partitioning

1 *Manuma-durga* means Durga the grandson. When a child is named after its grandfather, the grandson is referred to with the epithet *manuma*, 'grandson' to distinguish him from the grandparent. Similarly *Manuma-Siddhi*, the patron of the illustrious poet Tikkana is likewise called.

2 *History of the Andhras*, Vol. III, (Telugu) pp. 181-82.

3 *Triceni*, 1933, November, p. 270.

or signing away of the kingdom of Rājamahēndranagara to his brother-in-law and minister Kāṭaya Vēma was an imprudent act that was fraught with dire consequences which led to the decline and fall of the Redḍi kingdom of Koṇḍaviḍu within two decades after the death of Kumāragiri. Mr. Veerabhadra Rao has not told us anywhere in his book when the partition of the kingdom was actually made, whether it was during the early period or during the last illness of Kumāragiri. Mr. Veerabhadra Rao did not discuss at all the political events of the reign of Kumāragiri that led to the giving away the kingdom of Rājamahēndranagara to his brother-in-law; but probably he had at the back of his mind the statement in the Tottaramūḍi plates<sup>4</sup> that Kāṭaya-Vēma rendered great assistance to Kumāragiri in obtaining possession and ruling the ancestral kingdom of Koṇḍaviḍu, even as Kṛishṇa did to Vudhisthira. He forgot for the time being that Kumāragiri had lost his only son Anna-Vōta presumably in a campaign. Kumāragiri knew that the kingdom of Rājamahēndranagara at any rate the territory beyond Simhādri was conquered by Kāṭaya-Vēma, who, having placed him on the throne remained steadfastly loyal throughout his reign to the throne of Koṇḍaviḍu. If Anna-Vōta or another offspring of Kumāragiri had been alive and ascended the throne, the history of the Redḍi kingdom of Koṇḍaviḍu would have been different and Kāṭaya-Vēma would certainly have remained loyal to his sovereign and protected the great kingdom over which Kumāragiri reigned. Kumāragiri, therefore, foresaw as his end was drawing near the difficulties that were sure to arise on his death for the kingdom of Koṇḍaviḍu. He must have feared that one of his own kinsmen, either Kōmaṭi-Vēma or another, would seize the throne and that Kāṭaya-Vēma would revolt. Accordingly as an act of wise statesmanship and with the earnest desire to see that his subjects lived in peace and prosperity, he allowed his brother-in-law, Vēma to become independent at Rājamahēndranagara towards the close of his reign. This event must have taken place shortly before the death of Kumāragiri in 1203. Kumāragiri probably hoped that the two Redḍi kingdoms, Rājamahēndranagara and Koṇḍaviḍu, would remain allies and thereby check the progress of Vijayanagara on the south, subdue the haughty Velamas of Rāchakōḍa on the west, overawe the Bahmani kingdom on the north-west and keep down the Gajapati and other kings of the east, even as he could do during his own reign. But his good intentions proved false. From the moment of his succession Kōmaṭi-Vēma pursued an unwise policy of aggression and hostility against Kāṭaya-Vēma with the object of reducing the kingdom of Rājamahēndranagara to vassalage. Kāṭaya-Vēma, a great and veteran soldier and statesman of repute proved more than a match to Kōmaṭi-Vēma. The result was protracted wars between Koṇḍaviḍu and Rāja-

maññendranagara; and Kōmaṭi-Vēma's ambition, therefore, was the cause of the fall of the Reddī dynasty. Instead of keeping peace with Kāṭaya-Vēma by entering into alliance with him, Kōmaṭi-Vēma forced war upon him. In the end he was left without a friend on all sides of his kingdom and his death at the hands of the Velama chief of Rāchakonda sealed the fate of the kingdom of Koṇḍaviḍa. He left to his successor the incompetent and cruel prince Rāchaya-Vēma, an impoverished kingdom, an unsuccessful army and lawless fens everywhere. No wonder, therefore, that the kingdom of Koṇḍaviḍa disappeared quickly within four years after the death of Kōmaṭi-Vēma who spent all his reign in wars with Vijayanagara on the one hand, with the Velamas of Rāchakonda and lastly with his own kinsmen at Rājamaññendravaram on the other, and forming an unholy alliance with the Bahmanī Sultan Feroz Shah. So it appears that it was Kōmaṭi-Vēma, despite his great qualities as a reputed soldier and statesman, was the cause of the sudden fall of his kingdom soon after his death. It was not due to the partitioning of the kingdom by Kumāragiri; even without Kumāragiri's act, war would have broken out between Kōmaṭi-Vēma and Kāṭaya-Vēma, for the latter would never have consented to remain as a vassal of Kōmaṭi-Vēma.

Turning to Dr. Venkataramanayya's contention that Kumāragiri was an incompetent prince, we fail to discover even an iota of evidence in support of his views. In the first place it will be apparent even to the casual reader of his paper in the *Triumf* that he was writing with a bias against the Reddīs and particularly against Kumāragiri, firstly on account of his partiality for Vijayanagara and secondly on account of the writings of Mr. Veerabhadra Rao, Pandit Prabhakara Sastry and others who had not presented a proper and correct estimate of the character and reign of Kumāragiri. It is well known that Kumāragiri reigned roughly for twenty years and the following verse from Śrīrāṅga's *Haravilāsam* bears strong testimony to the fact that Kumāragiri's long reign was not merely most prosperous but victorious and glorious from every point of view. The maritime activity of the kingdom of Koṇḍaviḍa was at its height.

నీ పరరాజ్య పరమస్థ పరవైభవశ్రీలఁ గొనకొని విడనాడు కొండవీడు

పరిపంథిరాజ్య బలములు బంధించు | గుణులైన యశ్వత్థాను కొండవీడు

ముగియరాజులకును మోహము బుట్టించు | కొమరునించినవీడు కొండవీడు

చటలవికృతులకా సాహసం బొనరించు | పటిలారులకుజోడు కొండవీడు

గీ. ఇవన ఘోరక సామంతమనవీర | భటపటానేకహతుకపృథగగ్రంథ

సింధురార్చిత మోహనశ్రీలఁ దవరు | కూర్చినను రావణిజోను కొండవీడు.

Tradition states that this *śloka* verse was composed in the court of Harihara II when Śrinidhi visited Vijayanagara. As Harihara II reigned from about 1377 to 1404, A. D. this verse would appear to refer to Kopṇavīḍu of the time of Kumārāgiri. There seems to be no exaggeration in the statement of Śrinidhi that Kopṇavīḍu was the envy of three kingdoms, the Vijayanagara, the Bahmani and the Gajapati.

॥ పంజాబు(?) కన్నూరపాదపంజులు తెచ్చి | బలనగి బంగారుములక తెచ్చి  
సింహశంఖున గంధసింధురంజులు తెచ్చి | హరుమంజులు లేక హరులు తెచ్చి  
గోప సంకుద్ధనంకుమద్రవము తెచ్చి | యాపననాగేముత్యాలు తెచ్చి  
చోటంగి కస్తూరి కాటంకములు తెచ్చి | చీని చీనాంబరశ్రేణి తెచ్చి  
॥ జగదగోపాలరామదేశ్యాధిపతిగ | పల్లవాదిత్య భూదాన పరశురామ  
నామగిరిరాజు దేవేంద్రకూర్మహేతుడు | చాల జగజ్జిత్తి దేవయరామప్పజ్జి.

Kumārāgiri's reign, therefore, witnessed continued prosperity. Kumārāgiri's claim in this present record that the kings of the south, west and north seek his friendship of their own accord seems to be absolutely true and justifiable. The Bahmani kingdom sought peace with Kondavīḍu. It was during this period held by three weak and puppet kings, Mahmood and his two sons, Ghias-ood-Deen (April 1397—June 1397) and Shams-ood-Deen (June 1396—November 1397), and later by an ally Sultan Feroz Shah. The reign of Mahmood Shah I (1378—April 1397) was marked by peace and prosperity in the Bahmani kingdom. In the words of Ferishta<sup>6</sup> "The King, preferring the blessings of peace to engaging in war, allowed his reign to pass in tranquility; and from his great wisdom the Deccanites gave him the title of Aristotle. During a period of nineteen years, nine months and twenty four days, only one disturbance occurred, which was quelled in a few months." On the death of Mahmood I, his infant son Ghias-ood-Deen was placed on the throne by the nobles of the court but was soon cruelly blinded and imprisoned.<sup>7</sup> Then his younger brother Shams-ood-Deen was annointed king but that unfortunate prince also was soon dethroned and slain. Sultan Feroz Shah then ascended the throne and he continued, the friendly relations with Kumārāgiri till his death. Neither Ferishta nor Syed Ali (Author of the History called *Burhan-i-ma'isur*)<sup>8</sup> speak of any wars which Sultan Feroz waged against Kondavīḍu during his long reign (November 1397—September 1423 A.D.) of twenty-five years and seven months.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Ferishta: *History of the Rise of Mohomedan Power*: Briggs' Translation, Vol. II, p. 350.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 353—355.

<sup>8</sup> *I. A.*, Vol. XXVIII; translated into English by Major King.

<sup>9</sup> Ferishta: Vol. II, p. 353—355; *Ibid.* *ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII.

Let us now turn to examine another claim which Dr. Venkataramanayya makes on behalf of Vijayanagara that between the years 1383 to 1385 A.D. Kumāragiri could not resist the occupation of his southern or south-western provinces lying between Śrīsaṅgam and Tripurāntakam and Addanki. This territory, it will be remembered, was the home province of the Redḍi kingdom; and the Redḍi kings, however weak they might be, would not allow that to be conquered by the hostile power of Vijayanagara. The claim is apparently made on the strength of two stone pillar inscriptions at Tripurāntakam and a third one at Motupalli which mention the Vijayanagara prince Dēvarāya. One of them is dated in Ś. S. 1307, Krīḍhama samvatsara corresponding to 1385—86 A. D.<sup>10</sup> It records a gift made to the god for the merit of prince Dēvarāya during the reign of Hari Hara II. Another inscription from the same place is dated in Ś. S. 1308 Kshaya samvatsara, corresponding to 1386—87 A.D.<sup>11</sup> These two records no doubt show that Vijayanagara authority was recognised at Tripurāntakam between the years 1385—87. The inscription at Motupalli<sup>12</sup> no doubt mentions Dēvarāya as governing the great emporium in Ś. S. 1312, and the date is given as Friday, the 1st tithi of the bright fortnight of Māgha, Darmukhi samvatsara. It enumerates the taxes to be paid to the king on imports at Motupalli. The inscription, no doubt is a genuine one but the Śaka Samvat and the cyclic year Darmukhi do not coincide. Ś. S. 1312 could not be Darmukhi samvatsara; it would agree with Pramōdita. The date is therefore clearly wrong. It is therefore obvious that both the Śaka samvat and the cyclic year are wrongly stated. Till now the Epigraphy Department have not taken an estampage of the record and it is utterly unsafe to rely on an eye copy made by one of Col. Colvin Mackenzie's assistants. The date would appear to be Ś. S. 1310 Vibhava samvatsara for the other details of the date agree and yield the equivalent as Friday, 10th January 1388 A.D. If this supposition is correct it would appear that Vijayanagara was in occupation of the southern provinces of the Kingdom of Kondavīdu roughly between 1383 and 1388 A.D. for a period of five years. It is not clearly known when Kumāragiri succeeded on the throne after the death of his uncle the great king Ana Vēma Redḍi. So far the last known date of king Ana Vēma is Vaisākha, Ś. S. 1303, corresponding to April—May 1381 A.D.<sup>13</sup> There must have prevailed confusion for some time in the Redḍi kingdom during the period following the death of Ana Vēma and the accession of Kumāragiri, which enabled the Vijayanagara viceroys to advance into the Redḍi territory and occupy some provinces. The period

10 Ep. Colln. No. 270 of 1905.

11 Ep. Colln. No. 270 of 1905.

12 Local Records, Vol. 42, p. 425—26.

13 (S. J. I. Vol. IV, Nos. 1279—1283).



of such Vijayanagara occupation would therefore synchronise with the period of political confusion in the capital of the Reddis, between 1383-1385. Soon after he had made himself secure on the throne of Kondavida, King Kumāragiri conquered the Vijayanagara prince Dēvarāya and once more restored the authority of Kondavida at Motupalli, at Tripurāntakam and in the other southern provinces as far as Śrīśailam and beyond. This success of the expedition was doubtless due to the military genius of the great general and minister Kātaya-Vēma, sister's husband of Kumāragiri. It was, therefore, in consequence of this decisive victory gained by the Kondavida army against prince Dēvarāya that the Vijayanagara emperor Vira Harihara II concluded peace with Kumāragiri by ceding not only the occupied territory but giving his daughter Harihārāh̄m̄b̄ in marriage to Kātaya, son of Kātaya Vēma. The marriage itself must have therefore taken place in or about 1388 A.D. Otherwise there is no justification for Kumāragiri's claim in the present inscription that "the kings of the southern, western and northern regions have been on friendly terms with us out of their own free will, and that we should turn our attention to the conquest of the eastern quarter."<sup>14</sup> The war with Vijayanagara being over and a treaty concluded advantageously to the kingdom of Kondavida, Kumāragiri despatched his minister and commander-in-chief, Kātaya-Vēma to conquer the kingdom of Kalinga. According to the present record the conquest of Kalinga, the subjugation of the Gajapati and the king of the countries stretching as far as the foot of the Vindhya and the Mahānadi was already an accomplished fact by the beginning of 1390 A.D. The war on the Kalinga frontier therefore has to be placed between 1388-89 and not from 1383 to 1391 as proposed by Dr. Venkataramaiah.<sup>15</sup> Kumāragiri was not, therefore, an incompetent prince. Scholars have showered more praise on Kātaya Vēma in their admiration for him, and failed to estimate properly the glory of Kumāragiri's reign and his character and ability as a great and fortunate sovereign.

14 That Kumāragiri enjoyed peace on all the borders of his kingdom and king Harihara II, Sultan Feroz and Gajapati were his allies is also hinted from the following verse in *Haravilasa*.

చ. పారిపారకాయ శేరోజవహః సురధాన గజాధిపాధి భూ

పరులు నిజప్రభావ మధిపర్ణవ సేయః సుమార గిర్యధీ

శ్వరుని వనంక వైభవము పర్వము రాక్కడ నిర్వహించునూ

తిరుమలనాథశ్రేష్ఠిని ధీనుణ్ణట్టి నెర్పకీడను.

15 *Triumf*, Nov. 1933, p. 279.

## TEXT:

*First plate, Second side.*

- 1 शुभमस्तु [१\*] यस्मिन्नुद्भवति क्षितिं यवनिष्ठावार्धिसदीप्योष्पनि [१\*] प्रो-  
 2 द्यमंगलद्वयवाचनिनदी मौहूर्तिकः पद्मभूः [१\*] शेषासे-  
 3 वफणे माधियुतिशतं नीराजनं चाभवत् [१\*] भूभाराधिपस्स-  
 4 विष्णुरखिल भेषांसि पुद्गादुवः । [१\*] विंदुरिवाखिलारामात्थानं गे-  
 5 हस्थल ललित दानजलविंदुः । विंदुरवापो भूभूषनानं-  
 6 वाधिधवर्द्धन नर्षेदुः । [२\*] न्योमारामस्थलरम्यकर शाखामनोहरित-  
 7 पुष्पवंती<sup>१</sup> व स्थातां मनोरमफल पद्मी । [३\*] अस्ति त्रिभुवनाधारो मेरुना (नी)-

*Second plate, First side*

- 8 ममहीपरः नृज रत्न यमाजाल नीराजित दिगंतरः । [४\*] भाति तदक्षिणेभागे वर्षे भा-  
 9 रतमुत्तमः [१\*] तत्रापि भारतं खंड मखंडवर्षाभिमाकरं (म) । [५\*] तत्र क्षत्रकुलोत्त-  
 10 सा राजहंसा स्तहस्तशः अपालयन् धरो धर्मतत्परा इक्षुजित्पराः\* । [६\*] ततः  
 11 क्रमात् विक्रमवान् धरिर्षी प्रतापरुद्रक्षितिष इक्षुशास [१\*] भीष्माकतिष्वान्वयवार्धि-  
 12 चंद्र स्ताभ्राज्यलक्ष्मी विजितानरेंद्रः । [७\*] वन्योदये आरुषसुपसिद्धौ  
 13 तस्मिन् महीनायकलिग्नमानौ [१\*] अस्तंगते कालवशादधार्सीत्<sup>२</sup> दोषक वे-  
 14 धुर्न्ययनांधकारः । [८\*] सती हृदयपद्मानि विक्षसं विजदुः क्षणात् विचरज्जोषः  
 15 खद्याता सहस्रिभ्य श्वाते निरंतरं । [९\*] ततः परं सन्मुनिभिर्निकामं ध्वेषेक्षतसूतेः प-  
 16 र्पंकजाते । जातान्वये वेमनुपालवर्ण्यस्सत्योन्नतः धातुरभूदुदारः [१०\*] आसीद्वा

*Second plate, Second side.*

- 17 सेतु शीतक्षितिधरचुगलीमण्यदीप्त प्रतापस्सीमा शैलेन्द्र सानुस्थल चर स्वचरी गी-  
 18 तविक्रयातकीर्तिः\* । राजद्राजन्यवर्ण्य स्फुटमुकुटतटि-रत्न नीराजिताभि वैद्य-

N.B: The plates for this inscrip on will be published later.

1. From the original plates.
2. Two syllables which constitute the subject are apparently left out here by the scribe.
3. Some syllables again are omitted here by the scribe.
4. Read 'व्रज'

- 19 क्षमामंडलेंद्र स्तकलसुकृतिनामप्रणीतप्रशौन्यैः । [११\*] पवनजवनवाजिघ्रात रं-  
 20 गत्तरंगे यवनवलमहाब्धौ भूतधोत्रीं<sup>५</sup> निमग्नां<sup>६</sup> विपुलविजयधामा-  
 21 यस्समुद्भूत<sup>७</sup> चक्रे निजभुजप्रणिगूषां वीरनारायणांकः । [१२\*]  
 22 सोपानानि कृतानिवेन कृतिना पातालमंगातटे श्रीशैलस्य महीश मौलिम-  
 23 णिना तान्येवचित्रं पुनः । [१३\*] सोपानानिभवंते<sup>८</sup> मेरुशिखरागोहाय तायप-  
 24 गाग्लाहाय त्रिवशांगनावन महासौधापिरोहाय च [१४\*] हेमाद्रि दानाम्-  
 25 रणोन्नतस्य तस्य क्षितीशस्य मुदा बभूतां श्रीवज्रघोतक्षितिं पालवेममही-

*Third plate, First side.*

- 26 श्वरी द्वाधतधर्मलोली । [१५\*] तयोद्वेगोरप्रमथो भवांसि समर्थे  
 27 ना संभृत रात्र्यष्टद्विः पाद्रीमुखैरेव विरोधिराजदुर्मणि अग्रह चतुर्विधां<sup>९</sup> नि । [१६\*]  
 28 हेमाद्रिनिर्दिष्टमहाविशिष्टदानानि दीनायनकेलिलोकः चकारयस्सर्षदिगंतराळ मृ-  
 29 पालमौलि स्थितशासनधीः [१७\*] तद्वज्रघोतक्षितिपांजुराशौ कुमा-  
 30 रगिर्योष्यवपुपाळचंद्रः अश्वं<sup>१०</sup> विभाजितमंडलभिं<sup>११</sup> शीयास-  
 31 मं पातुरभूत् फलवान् । [१८\*] जघ्ने सिंहाघ्रेष्वरिराजसौधमा-  
 32 लेषु दूर्वासिचयं समंवात् । अंजूर इत्यासमृषः कृपावानरिरतथां-  
 33 द्रमसे कुरंगे<sup>१२</sup> । [१९\*] वसंतविलासु दिक्षाचपूनां कपूरखंडैः कृतमंड<sup>१३</sup> (न\*)भीः कु-  
 34 मारगिर्योष्य वसंतरायः श्रीर्षिपतापामरणो विभाति । [२०\*] पुनः पातुरभू  
 35 तस्य कुमारगिरिभूपतेः । अश्वतो इति कथातः<sup>१४</sup> । स्वपितामहाविक्रमः । [२१\*]

*Third plate, Second side.*

- 36 सुकुमारतराकार स्स कुमारशिखानधिः । जयावह तु महाशक्तिः कुमा-  
 37 र इव राजते । [२२\*] तं बालनंकमारोष्य कुमारगिरिभूपतिः<sup>१५</sup> दाक्षा-  
 38 रामे तुलादानमकार्षीदतिशैतुकात् । [२३\*] जघ्ने तस्मै कुमाराय यो रा(र)  
 39 विमासिने । देशं दिम्बिजवाकानं दातुकाम स्स भूपतिः । [२४\*] च-  
 40 तुर्विचोपायनयपर्वणं सां रात्र्यनिर्वाहं महाप्र-  
 41 भावं । सप्तः पतिं काटयवेमभूत् रागाद्वाहीदति गौ-  
 42 रवेण । [२५\*] उदीच्या दक्षिणात्यञ्च प्रतीच्यञ्च महीश्वराः आचरं-

5. Read समुद्भूत

6. Read 'धोत्री'

7. Read भवन्ति

8. Read मंडलधीः

9. Read दाक्षा

- 40 ति सदा मैत्रि मस्मानि रतिकौतुकान् । [२६\*] तस्मात्सिंहाद्विपर्येत प्राच्या एव  
44 महीश्वराः । जेतव्यास्तन्महीपालानधुना जयलीलया । [२७\*] इति प्रा(य)तापभरणे-

*Fourth plate, First side.*

- 45 न तेन वसंतरायांकमहीश्वरेण आह्वयितः काटयवेमदैरि रापांसु  
46 केलिज्याधितारिबीरः । [२८\*] ततश्चैलपुरात्तस्व कुमारगिरिभूपतेः । रायं राजमहै.  
47 द्राक्ष्यन्मर्षो प्रजपरात । [२९\*] तन्नगप्यौ गरीयसां प्राकारांतरभूषणां आ-  
48 स्ते श्रीगोपिकाप्रीतिदृष्टकज्जपतिभित्तं । [३०\*] चक्रं नियुज्य समदासुरभंजनाय यु-  
49 द्वि नियम्य भुवनतपरंजनाय । संकीडते जगति वस्मुरमौलि-  
50 रत्ननीराजैताम्रिकमलः कमलसहस्रः । [३१\*] इत्यं पद्मशोधयमा-  
51 समानं ते गोपिदानायमशेषमेव्यं महामतिः काटयवेमदैरि जयपरी(सि)  
52 रौ(ध्वै) मनसापमगम्य । [३२\*] अस्मिन् दिग्बिजये तुष्यंयम मत्पूजितं विमोहास्य  
53 मीति प्रतिश्रुत्य सज्जसासनपैभक्तः । [३३\*] मौहूर्तिकम्यस्त मनोज्ञाक्षरे प्रस्थान-  
54 भेरिपटहप्राणादैः । श्रीरावयन् विश्वदिगंतराणि प्रातिष्ठ(ष्ट)त पाठनृपतीन् विजेतुं । [३४]

*Fourth plate, Second side.*

- 55 ततो विष्वाद्र सिंहाद्विर्वर्ति महीश्वरान् जित्वा तरेज्जुर्गेषु नियुज्य स्वधिकारिणः । [३५]  
56 अथ गजपतिमुषैरिर्विजोदाय म तद्विषद्वयमभिभूषावंबरोपायनामि ।  
57 कुमारगिरिमहीशम्याप्रनागे निपाय प्रकटविजयचाना काटयावीशवेमः । [३६\*]  
58 प्रणम्य तस्मै धरणीश्वराय संभाषितस्तेन बहुप्रकारैः । कृतार्त्तं(त्यं) अमन ममं  
59 स्त सम्मगमात्मानमा नम्रवेरोपेक्षाः । [३७\*] ततो निजमुज्जालय्यमहाविजय-  
60 हेतवे हिमाचलसमुत्तुंगपर्वतगर्भांतरेतवे । राजद्राजमहैद्राक्ष्य-  
61 पुरी निलनिवासिने श्रीमद्रोषालदेवाय शार्धतैश्चर्यदायिने । [३८\*] कुमारगिरि-  
62 भूभर्तुस्सुतेन रवितेजसा जलपेतकुमारेण सप्ताव्यशिर/त्रिया । [३९\*] तुस्य  
63 भविनदीतीरे प्राममुरामचैमव । सोयं काटयवेमांकः । प्रादापयवुदा  
64 रविः । [४०\*] सकुमार स्त सस्य देवस्याचनकोवेदी वैधानसकुलभेष्टाबाधौ शिगय

*Fifth plate, First side.*

- 65 वेंगलौ । [४१\*] संभाज्यदेवो भवदाय एष पुष्पातिराज्यश्रिय मस्यदीयो । अतो  
66 महाप्राममनेकसत्यमस्यौ ददामीति मुदा हुवाणः । [४२\*] शाकाब्दे नेत्रचंद-  
न्यलनशशि

- 67 मिते मासे वैशखसंखे सप्तम्यां शुक्लपक्षे कोमरगिरिविभोस्तनु रिद्वप्रतापः।  
 प्राप्तं त्रि(त्री)-  
 68 यन्नवोत्पन्नपुत्रपुत्रेति प्रोदनाभाभिरामं प्रादादाचंद्रतारं निजविजयकृते गो-  
 69 पिकाधीश्वराय ॥ [४३\*] प्राच्यां कडमुलपुंतः पश्चिमतः तावितोंड कडयोःगों  
 70 गुः । उमरुबंद वडीच्यां वेसंगलपुंतश्च दक्षिणभागे । [४४\*] आक्षेवां दिशि-  
 71 भाति सर्वविदितो नेरेडुबंदसदो । नेरुड्यांदिशि पुण्यजीवनधरी ज्ञा तुल्यभगानदी।  
 72 पायज्योपि च सीमिनपोकविदितो मासायचेःपु दिशीशान्यं कोक्षेरपंद इत्यमि  
 73 तो मामस्यसीना इमाः ॥ [४५\*] राज्ञामौलिमणेः कुमारगिरिभूषालसल्लुनुः प्रमाभा  
 74 नुधीनिधिरन्नवोत्पन्नपति श्रीवीरनारायणः ॥\*) वृषा भूरमर्षा भुजे विजयतां

*Fifth plate, Second side.*

- 75 प्रयत्तोऽर्थो) पृथिवीपतीन् धर्मान् पालयितान् भिवं वितनुताश्चंद्रतारकं (म्) ॥  
 [४६\*] सा  
 76 माम्योयं धर्ममेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयोभवद्भिः । सर्वानेवं भाविनः  
 77 पाति त्वि वैश्वान् भूयो भूयो वाचते रामचंद्रः । [४७\*] श्रीमनुमदुर्गमुधीषवी-  
 78 श्रेण सुतेन पित्रयार्प्यस्य अन्नपक्षविनाविरचितं शासनमाभाति गोपिकाभर्तुः।[४८\*]  
 79 दिगनाप्योवडमन्न वेगलाप्योवभाषनः अप्यलुब्धेति वेषस्यसमा-  
 80 राधनकोविदाः ॥ [४९\*] आंशुलिका उमरुबंदप्रचामरादिविरुजितः । उमरुबंद(स्या)  
 81 नाधिपत्य श्रीयोमलाप्यंश्च विवृतः । [५०\*] एषां सावृत्तयो राजानि निदाजन  
 82 विवृतः ॥ को म र गि रि मा लु

## 2. Komaragirivaram Grant of Kataya-Yema, Dated B.S. 1330.

This record is engraved apparently on three copper-plates but there is reason to suspect that the inscription was originally engraved on four plates and that one of them, namely, the third was lost. For the inscription begins rather abruptly from line 46 recording the date of the grant and the name of the donee without any introduction whatsoever regarding the latter. The plates are numbered. And this circumstance renders, however, the above suspicion that one of the plates is missing, baseless. The plates are now partly preserved in the Gautami Library and partly in the Museum of the Society.

The plates measure roughly  $3\frac{1}{2}$ " by  $1\frac{1}{2}$ " each. The ring which held the plates together is now missing but there are holes to the proper left of the plates through which the ring passed. The plates are in excellent state of preservation and bear writing on both sides. There are eleven lines on each side including the reverse side of last plate; thus there are 66 lines altogether in the inscription. The writing is clear and the letters are deeply cut.

The characters are of the old Telugu type. No remarks other than those that have been made in the introduction of the preceding grant are necessary. Orthographical peculiarities are few. The scribe adopted the modern way of writing the secondary form of *pa* under the initial *ra* throughout wherever the compound letter *rupa* had to be written. But this rule is not observed in respect of other compound letters like *raha* and *riva* etc., where the initial letter *sha* or *ma* is to be written. In the case of these letters, the secondary *ra* which is like a stroke on the right top corner of the letter is written. (See *gharaha* in line 6. *Bhārgava* in v. 19. *nārmava* in line 3 and *dārmava* in line 45.) *pa* is doubled before the secondary *r* as in *Bhārgava* and *ra* also *ma* occasionally. (See *dārmava* in line 45). Instead of the *anuvāsa* of the group, *anuvāsa* is freely used. The inscription is composed in Sanskrit throughout except the boundaries of the village which are in Telugu prose.

The formal preamble of the inscription is almost the same as that of the Tottaramūḍi plates of Rājara-Vēma and it is noteworthy that the poet who composed the poetry of this record is the same as the author of the poetry of the Tottaramūḍi plates. There are, however, three verses, verses 15, 14 and 13 which are new and which do not find place in the Tottaramūḍi plates. The inscription opens with invocations of the Bhairava-incarnation of Viṣṇu (v. 1), of Gaṇēśa (v. 2) and of the Moon on the head of Śiva (v. 3). Then it refers to the God Viṣṇu, from the lotus of whose navel was born the Creator of the Three Worlds, from whose mouth, arms, thighs and feet sprang up the four castes (v. 4). One of the branches of the Fourth caste was *Paṇḍita-kula* (v. 6). In this was born the great king Vēma who bore the surname *Jaganādā-gaṇḍa*, "the hero who conquered the world". He built a flight of steps to the top of Śrīśaila hill from the bank of the Pūṣṭāganga (v. 7). To him was born Ana-Vēma who was equal in might and prowess to Mahāśūna the destroyer of the Asuras. His younger brother was Ana-Vēma who bore the surnames *Paṇḍitarāya*, 'Lord of the Spring' and *Kahurikāśaya*, 'one whose weapon is the dagger' (v. 12). Ana-Vēma appears to have acquired the epithet *Paṇḍitarāya* on account of his celebrating the spring festival year after year in all quarters of his kingdom. The celebration of the Spring Festival which assumed a great celebrity in the reign of Kumāragiri appears to have been innovated by Ana-Vēma as his title *Paṇḍitarāya* indicates. Verses 13 and 14 which are new, state that Ana-Vēma planted victory pillars at Śrīśaila and



Sinhāchala, and this fact indicates that he conquered the regions of the east and west. After Ann-Vēma, Kumār-giri, son of Ann-Vēma ascended the throne. Kumār-giri had a son named Ann-Vēma who is compared to Javanta, Vasava, Pradyumna and Vishnu in personal beauty. Kumār-giri, it is said, reigned for a long time at Kōṇḍavēdu, the traditional capital of his house. Verse 18, which is new states that he built several beautiful palaces, ornamented them gold and jewels, and that the most celebrated of them was the lofty palace with a tower known as *Grharaṇja*. He constructed several public ponds or baths for pleasure (*kriṣṭa*), sport and jest, and himself (*Vasantarāya*) enjoyed the company of his beloved women in these beautiful ponds and baths. Kumār-giri performed numerous *tulā-purusha* gifts. He had the jewel of a minister in Kāṭya-Vēma, who equalled Brhmapati the preceptor of the Gods and Bhārgava, the counsellor of the Asuras in statecraft and Paraśurama and Pārtha in valour. Kāṭya-Vēma rendered invaluable assistance to Kumār-giri in obtaining possession of the ancestral throne and kingdom even as Lord Krishna did to Yudhishthira (v. 21). King Kumār-giri conferred upon Kāṭya-Vēma the eastern kingdom at the mouth of which stood Rājamahēndrasagara, being pleased with his heroic exploits (v. 22). Then follow three verses which trace the descent of Kāṭya-Vēma. They state that Kāṭya (I) had a son named Māra whose son was Kāṭya (II) and the son of the latter was Vēma. Kāṭya-Vēma was also related to king Vēma as his daughter's son. Kāṭya-Vēma's mother was Doddāmbikā. Incidentally we are told here that Kāṭya II was the son-in-law of king Vēma. It is said that all the kings of the eastern quarter flourished or perished at the pleasure of Kāṭya Vēma and that Gajapati the foremost among them was his vassal (v. 25).

The inscription then states the date and the object of the grant. In the Śāka year 1330 (*vijaya-rāma-traya-sati*: in the reverse order *sati* = 1, *rāma* = 3, *traya* = 3 and *vijaya* = 0, i.e. 1330), cyclic year *Sarvadhārī*, in an unspecified month and *ittirī*, on Friday, at the time of the *Vyāṭṭipāla-paga*, Kāṭya-Vēma carved out a new village under the name Komaragiri-varaṇa, apparently after the name of his beloved sovereign, in the district (*raṇa*) of Kōṭṭopla and granted it to the brahman Anbhālārya. The year corresponds to 1408-09 A.D. but as no details are given it is not possible to find out the exact equivalent of the date of the grant. But usually *vyāṭṭipāla paga* is believed to be a portent of a calamity to the kingdom and on such occasions kings in the past made religious grants to temples and pious brahmanas so that the threatened calamity might be averted. The donor Anbhālārya belonged to the Vaiṣṇava sect of the Vaiṣṇavas. He was the son's son of or (*Āḍuvarya*) and son of Nṛsiṃhārya and an adept in conducting the daily worship of the god Viṣṇu.

The object of the grant is Komaragiri-varaṇa which is said to be in Korkonda district. The village had gone out of existence long ago,



- 13 nāma prasūtām ba'va-sākhini | tarār-iva phalam ramya-vṛttarā  
sarasam-ujvalatā<sup>3</sup> || [6\*] Ta  
14 tr=āsīd Vā m a-b h ā p ā l a b kuṣ-vibudha-rathjakaḥ |  
payōdhāv-iva sarthāsō-rājaratō-  
15 dbhāvākarē || [7\*] Śrīmān Vā m a-mahāpatis-sa vidadhī  
P ā r ā | a-G a ā g ā t a t ē Ś r i ā a i l ē j a g a n o b b a  
16 g a p ā a-bhūdā-sōpāna vidhīm<sup>4</sup> śabbhām | yā sau divyati  
divya sīma naga-  
17 r=ārōhādyāśūcān nṛpān n'āśmāḥ parikalpātēva nitarām=ā  
Brahma-  
18 kalpaśhīrām || [8\*] Yaasmā nissīma bhūjāna-khyāti saubhāgya-  
śālinī | dvijair-na bu-  
19 humanyamāḥ Bālī-bhāvāna Bhārggavaḥ || [9\*] A n a-V ō t a-prabhu-  
rasmād-ajyāta bhūjāya-  
20 tāḥ Mahāśōṇō Mahādhōyā divākāi-kuśāntakāḥ || [10\*] Anavōta-  
mahāpatao dbarīrī-  
21 m paritō bibhātati Pannagāśōdra (Pannagāśōdra) mukhyāḥ | cālm-  
śūchvalatāḥ laṅghokāḥ sōḥ bharaṇē jīvaṇ-  
22 m-asya sarthatovachī || [11\*] Tasy=ānajas sujano n=asti  
V ā a a n t a t ā y a V ī r = Ā m n a V ē m a-n r p a t i-

*Second plate, First side.*

- 23 h kahurikā-sahāyāḥ | yaasmān mahīm-aratī sārtham-abbhūch-  
chirāya nāmā  
24 vanau vumanasām bahudō vadhōyē || [12\*] Yaasmān kiratī  
vanasūcē dīdī dīdī kāmōtā-  
25 vōḥu karpūrah | adhīrāśaita paridhān=ānubhavaḥ<sup>5</sup> bhū-  
chechirāyo gīrīs=ōpi || [13\*] ya-  
26 syāstām vijayē samasta vidhīna Śrīśāi'a Sīmbāchalau śāstbhāu  
pāśchima pūrva-ōi  
27 g-vibhājana-vyākhyānā vaijāntakau || [14\*] Tvēṅgaī-śaurya turanga  
śāstbhāu khura-śōḥōi lṛpāṇi  
28 hōti spūṛjach-chandhra-karājī-rājita līpā tōmādhait=ādityakau || [15\*]  
K u m ā r a g ī r i-  
29 bhūpō=bhūd=A n a v ō t a-vibhus-sutāḥ | Jayanō Vāsavasy=  
ōva Pradyūna iva Śā-  
30 rūḥnāḥ || [16\*] Kōṇḍarīdhar-āi khyātā-porē śāstivā kuṭṭigāḥ |  
Kumāragerī-bhūpōḥ am chīrah bhū-  
31 mīm-spālayat || [17\*] Līlā grāmān kuṇḍa-raṭna chayaīr=anōkān  
prāśādam-ūnṇa ākhara Gāharā-

<sup>3</sup> Read *ujvalam*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *vithim*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *ujvalatā*.

- 32 ja-sathjāth Kridā sarādhī chā vidhāya Vasantharāyāḥ  
kēli radhānī saḥ=āramata priyābhīḥ || [18\*]  
33 Tulāpurusharatnasya Śrī Kumāragiṇēḥ kṛtāḥ | Tulāpuruṣa-  
mukhyānī ma-  
34 bh-dānāni Yō tonot || [19\*] Asid=amētya-ratnam K ā t a y a-  
V ē m a prabhuḥ-asya | aī-sura-

*Second plate, Second side.*

- 35 guru-Bhārgava matir-ati Bhārgava vijaya vijaya vikhyātāḥ || [20\*]  
Simhāsātē nīdhā-  
36 yā sau Kumāragiṇī bhūvaram | aījayan-mahā-īśa(h\*) Śrī  
Kṛṣṇa iva dharmajāḥ || [21\*] Ku-  
37 māragiṇī-bhūnādhī(tāḥ) yasmāi vikrama-śobhitāḥ | prādāt prāchi-  
bhuvam Rājama-  
38 hēndrasagaḥ mukhām || [22\*] Napatē Kāta-mahībhujō guṇa-ga-  
ōdāsaḥ Māra-  
39 prabhōḥ putrah Kātaya-Vēma bhūni-ramapāḥ Śrī Vēma-  
prahvīpātēḥ || [23\*] Daśhitrāḥ  
40 pūnar Anna-Vōta-argasir dhātrīdā chūḍāmāgī-jā-māḥ jāyati  
kālīnī chira-  
41 m-avan Duḍḍāḥbhāḥ namdasāḥ || [24\*] Kātaya-Vēma kaṭāksāḥ  
prabhavati sadāyē cha nirdāyē  
42 cha tatbā | Gaṇapati-mukha-nṛpatīcāḥ chīrath mukt-ānupatrā  
bhavati || [25\*] Nāḥpāko-  
43 namayan prajñā-niyamayan ānāḥjanāḥ kāmāyan bhūcōcā-  
ramayan-  
44 tipān-vīramayan mitrāṇi vīrāmāyan kīrtiḥ svāḥ bhramāyan  
naghnāni śamāyan  
45 dharmath samāmāyan's = ōyam Vēma-mahīpatir-vijayaḥ Kātayanōs=  
āimajab || [26\*]

*Third plate, First side.*

- 46 Śrī śākhē vōma-Rāma-traya-śaṣi-gaṇīḥ Sarvadhāryabda Śukrē  
Śrī Vēmah Kāta-  
47 pāmbhōndhī-rājanīkarak sa vyaṣpātā-yōḥ | a-īcchāśvarayam sa-  
bhōgam K o m a g i r i-  
48 v a r a m nūtanam Kālpayivā grāmam Kōṛkondā-līmni prakāṣa-  
taram-adāḥ=āubhālārya-dvi-  
49 jāya || [27\*] Dāinān s=ōyam Vikhāsa ku'asy=Āḍovā=  
ārya-nāmāḥ putrah śikh=ādbya-  
50 yapa-nirata Śrī Nṛsiṃhasya-putrah | nityam Viśvōr-niyata  
vibhī=ānādhanaḥ Kā-



10 lines on the obverse and 9 lines on the reverse side. The seal and the ring which strung these plates together once are now missing. It was believed in the beginning that this record was fragmentary but since the above paper was sent to the press it has been found that this is a complete charter.

This grant contains the same formal preamble as the previous inscription and all the verses except the 12th are common to both of them. Verse 12 contains a description of king Ana Vōta (I) son of Vēma. It states in the usual panegyric style that Ana Vōta was a great king who destroyed his adversaries and caused grief to their wives.

This inscription is certainly more important and interesting to the historian than the preceding one. It mentions that Kāṭaya-Vēma bore the titles *Kaṭaka-chakravarī* 'the explorer of Kaṭaka' i.e. Cuttack, in Orissa; *Pāṇḍya-rāja-gaṇa-simha*, 'Lion to the elephant that was the lord of Pāṇḍya,' *Jagarakṣhapalaka*, *Aniyamasaṁhā karagaṇḍa* and *Jagada-Gopāla*. It is not known how and under what circumstances Kāṭaya-Vēma acquired the surname *Pāṇḍya-rāja-gaṇa-simha*, which denotes that he conquered the ruler of the Pāṇḍya kingdom.

The inscription is dated. In the Śaka year (expressed by numerical expression  $493 + 7$ ,  $Indu = 1$ ,  $guna = 1$  and  $kabhi = 1$ ) i.e. 1317 cyclic year Vura on the occasion of Uttarāyana, granted the village of Gōpavaram, situated in the neighbourhood of Rājamahēndranagara, to the god Gōpinātha who was established by Śaka-yōgi, for the enjoyment of the Lord, as long as the sun and moon endure. The village itself was called Tadokaldra and was formerly granted as an *agrahāra* by Mummaḍindra, Lord of Mangipūḍi. Kāṭaya-Vēma purchased it for a price and renamed it Gōpavaram on the occasion of his granting it to the god. Gōpavaram and Tādōpālī, the localities mentioned in the record cannot be identified to-day. Similarly Mummaḍindra, lord of Mangipūḍi cannot be satisfactorily identified now; it is probable that he was the same as Mummaḍi-nāyaka who ruled the province of Rājamahēndranagara that lay on the two banks of the Godavari, for a short period between circa 1330 and 1362 A.D. after the fall of the Kākatiya dynasty of Warangal. Mummaḍi or Mummaḍi-nāyaka ruled his kingdom from his capital at Kōrukoḍa.

The date of the charter is important. The details of the date correspond to 27th December 1305 A.D. By this date, the minister Kāṭaya-Vēma was already confirmed in the rulership of the kingdom of Rājamahēndranagara or the "Eastern Kingdom." Prince Ana Vōta (II) for whom Kumāragiri conquered the eastern kingdom had apparently died by that date, 1305 A.D. and, therefore, Kumāragiri bestowed the sovereignty of that kingdom upon his brother-in-law, Kāṭaya-Vēma.

See for further information about Mummaḍi-nāyaka, Bircangam plates of Mummaḍi Nāyaka (S. I. Vol. XIV, p. 88, Ep. Colls. No. 44 of 1912 at Kōrukoḍa, A.R.S.I.E. 1912, p. 40 & 41, para 68)





## REVIEWS.

Jogīndu, his *Paramātma-Prakāśa* and other Works

[Author: Prof. A. N. UPADHYE, M.A., Rajaram College, Kolhapur, Sri Parama Sutra Prabhavaka Mandal, Bombay. Price Re. 1/-]

In this booklet of 88 pages, Prof. Upadhye gives a critical account of *Paramātma-Prakāśa* or *Paramopapapāśa*, the earliest extant work on Jainism in the Apabhraṃśa language, by Yogīndu, or Joindu, who, as the Professor shows, flourished in the 6th century A.D. This critical essay is meant to be an introduction to the Second Edition of *Paramātma-Prakāśa* published in 1916, by Rāyachandra Jaina Sastramāla, with Brāhmaṇa's commentary and Daultam's *Bāṣhā* *pho* rendered into modern Hindi by Manoharlal. Prof. Upadhye divides his essay into five sections. The first section is devoted to the study of the various aspects of *Paramātma-Prakāśa*. The professor's study of the MSS. of the text is as vigilantly as it is critical. In the same section he gives as detailed a summary of *Paramātma-Prakāśa* that it may be called an English version of the text. Critical remarks are added on the literary, metrical and stylistic aspects and eclectic character of the work. Yogīndu's indebtedness to the earlier authors and his influence on the later authors are also discussed. The second section of the book is devoted to the study of Yogīndu's other works, namely: (1) *Yogasāra* (in Apabhraṃśa language) (2) *Naṭkāra-Sāṃskṛtāra* (in Apabhraṃśa language) (3) *Adhyātma-Samādhā* (in Sanskrit) (4) *Subhāṣita-Tantra* (in Sanskrit) (5) *Tatvārthapīṭha* (in Sanskrit) (6) *Dohapāṇḍa* (in Apabhraṃśa) (7) *Anvīṛṭti* (in Sanskrit) and (8) *Nijātmaśloka*, of which nos. (4) (5) and (6) are not found now. In this section is also found a discussion on Yogīndu's date. The third section deals with the commentaries on *Paramātma-Prakāśa*. The fourth section is devoted to a critical discussion of the mutual relation of the ten MSS. of *Paramātma-Prakāśa*. The fifth section contains a critical account of MSS. of *Yogasāra*.

Except for a few pages the whole essay is devoted to a study of *Paramātma-Prakāśa* in its various aspects. The brilliant spiritual discourses in *Paramātma-Prakāśa* come out as a reply to a question put by Bhāṭṭa Prabhākara to Yogīndu.

The second part of *Paramātma-Prakāśa* which consists of 214 verses deals with the means of attaining *Mokṣha* according to Jina.

The non-sectarian nature of the discussions in the work and the non-technical manner of presenting the highest philosophic truths have given the book the popularity, it enjoys. The two commentaries on this

work in Sanskrit and Kannada, assigned to the 11th and the 12th century respectively speak to its popularity centuries back. To this day, the work is read and re-read by all the Jains, particularly by the Jain monks of the *Digambara* sect.

J. PURUSHOTTAM, M.A.,

### Sri Jaina Sahitya Pradarsana Sri Prasasti Sangraha

[Editor: AMRITLAL MAGANLAL SAI; Publishers: Sindesa Virati Dharmaraghava Samaj, Ahmedabad. Price Rs. 5/-]

This is a valuable compendium giving the external particulars of the works on Jainism. The total number of books dealt with is 1439, of which 163 are on palm leaves and 1276 are on paper. The names of the work, author and patron and also the year, month and date of composition and publication of each book are given in detail. Indices of persons, places etc. occurring in the various works are also appended. The volume includes the full text of *Sri Ananda Loka* by Mahopādhyāya Sri Vinaya Vilaya Gani.

J. PURUSHOTTAM M.A.,

### Bhasharatnam of Kaṇḍa-Tarakavajina

Edited with a New Commentary and Introduction by Pandit KALIPADA TARKACHARYA, Professor of Nyāya, Govt. Sanskrit College, Calcutta. Sanskrit Parishat Series No. 30, published by the Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat, Shyam Bazar, Calcutta, 1936. pp. 217. Price Rs. 3-8-0

The author of this work seems to have made an honest and earnest endeavour to expound in brief all the fundamentals pertaining to the Kaṇḍa's school of philosophy as propounded in his original (*Vaiśeṣika*) *sūtras* as well as Praśastapāda's commentary (*Bhāṣya*). While dealing with each sub-division of each category (*padārtha*) the author has well taken care to see that the three essential processes, ever adopted by the exponents of Sciences (*śāstrakāra*)—viz., (1) enumeration (*uddāhāra*) (2) definition (*lakṣaṇam*) (3) examination (*parīkṣā*) are properly employed for the sake of evolving logically the accurate ideas in relation to each concept. It may be said to the author's credit that the process of applying these three principles to the exposition of each concept, has been explained in a style which, though presenting slightly dull uniformity, is profound to render the underlying technical axioms and specific ideas quite intelligible to such students as would, with enough foundation, like to make a genuine study of the fundamentals of the Kaṇḍa's school.

Wherever there happens to be disagreement between the ancient school as represented by Kaṇḍa's system and the modern school as represented by Kṛṣṇakāśa Śrīman Bhaṭṭācārya, the points of difference are well brought out. Likewise, the difference of opinion (1) between the Naiyāyika school and the Vaiśeṣika school (2) among the various

commentators relating to the modern school of Naiyyāyikas, has been elucidated in a simple and intelligible form.

It may as well be said that the author has also expounded in a simple and lucid style the divergence of opinion between the Naiyyāyikas and the Mīmāṃsakas in respect of such topics as are of utmost importance to the various branches of knowledge—viz., (1) the conception of sound (*śabda*) (2) the conception of the mind (*manas*) and (3) the criterion of truth (*pramāṇyapramiti*). The work is no doubt a useful contribution to the subject.

E. GOPALAKRISHNAMMA, M.A.

### A Critique on Nanne-Chōḍa Deva's Kumārasambhavam

By Mr. Sreepadā Lakshmipathī Sastri, Junior Lecturer in Telugu, Oriental Research Institute, University of Madras, 1937 (Madras University Telugu Series No. 6. Pages 210—Price Rs. 2-0-2).

Nanne-Chōḍa Deva's *Kumārasambhavam* was first published in two parts in 1909 and 1912 by the well known scholar Mr. Mānavallī Rama Krishna Kavi, who propounded a theory that the work was older than Nannaya's *Bhārata* by about a century and that the author flourished in the first half of the tenth century and died in 940 A.D. in the wars with the Western Chōḷukyas.

Several reputed scholars published articles from time to time since the publication of the work refuting the theory of Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi that it was of the pre-Nannaya period. Many of them considered that Nanne-Chōḍa must have flourished in the 12th century between Nannaya and Tikkana while some others like Mr. Dēvarāja Sudhīmaṇi thought that he was even posterior to Tikkana.

The present work of Mr. Lakshmipathī Sastri purports to support the theory that Nanne-Chōḍa flourished during the 12th century after Tikkana, which was first advanced by Devataja Sudhīmaṇi. On the strength of the internal evidence in the work, Mr. Sastri has attempted to prove that Nanne-Chōḍa must have existed in the early part of the 12th century, i. e., somewhat later than Tikkana and Kētana. While the little historical evidence found in the work and the inscriptions evidence so far procured have not been sufficient to fix the time of Nanne-Chōḍa conclusively, the method of sifting it adopted by Mr. Sastri is not the safest and, at any rate, not unimpeachable.

Nanne Chōḍa's work cannot be said to be altogether an independent *śāstra* as considered by Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi. Mr. Sastri has shown examples to prove that Nanne-Chōḍa read both Kālidāsa and Udbhata and adapted them in his book. To substantiate his theory, Mr. Sastri has attempted to show by a few stray examples that Nanne-Chōḍa read also cantos 9 to 17 of the *Kumāra-sambhavam* which were

a later production and adopted some of the verses therein in his work. The fact that the celebrated commentators Mallikārjuna (11th century) and Arunagirinātha (12th century), omitted to write commentaries for the cantos 9 to 17 has been urged by Mr. Sastri as a circumstance to show that those cantos were not composed or at least were not read in South India by that time. If this were true it is quite improbable that Nanne-Chōḍa lived in the beginning of the 12th century as urged by Mr. Sastri. But the so-called-adaptation by Nanne-Chōḍa of these cantos 9-17 is so very meagre and limited as admitted by Mr. Sastri himself that it is very unsafe to draw any conclusive inference on this point.

As regards the Telugu works, Nanne-Chōḍa's work reveals the existence of some parallels from Nannaya's *Bhārata*, the works of Pāṇkuriki Sōmanātha (1170-1240), of Tikkana and Kṛtana. On the strength of some parallel passages in the war scenes, Mr. Sastri valiantly urges that Nanne-Chōḍa must have evidently used Tikkana's verses depicting the Mahābhārata war and composed some of his verses in imitation thereof. This is too flimsy a view to be definitely asserted especially in view of the following facts. Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi has stated in his preface that among the authors on Telugu prosody, Atharvapa is the earliest poet who referred to Nanne-Chōḍa's verses in his work. Further, the verse of Atharvapa that Tenkavūdiya (a title of Nanne-Chōḍa which is also made mention of by him in *Kondaravasthāna*) died in a battle for having commenced his work with a verse beginning with *ma-gana* and *ra-gana* is well known. But it is very regretful to note that like Nanne-Chōḍa's time, the time of Atharvapa also has not been established beyond doubt. Further, if Nanne-Chōḍa's verses are referred to in the work of Atharvapa who is generally considered to be a contemporary of Tikkana, Mr. Sastri's theory that Nanne-Chōḍa existed somewhat later than Tikkana is seriously affected. Mr. Sastri has not discussed this important point in his *Critique* and it is not known why he has avoided it. Unless this question is solved, it cannot be definitely stated that Nanne-Chōḍa followed Tikkana's verses and was therefore posterior to him. The material exhibited by Mr. Sastri in this respect is not strong enough to conclusively establish this point. Mr. Sastri's argument that the practice of using *śloka/hyastamula* in the beginning of Telugu works with a Telugu verse instead of a Sanskrit verse as was in usage before, was inaugurated by Tikkana only and that Nanne-Chōḍa followed only Tikkana's innovation is not convincing. The use of *śloka/hyastamula* is found even in some inscriptions of pre-Tikkana times and Pāṇkuriki Sōmanātha who is admittedly anterior to Tikkana commenced his works *Ambāpāsāra* and *Chaturvedāsāra* with Telugu verses only instead of Sanskrit verses.

As stated above, Nanne-Chōḍa dedicated his work to his preceptor Jangama-Mallikārjuna and exhibited unparelleled devotion

towards him throughout the whole work. If this Āchārya is correctly identified and his time ascertained, it would have been much helpful to fix the time of Nanne-Chōḍa. Mr. Sastri refers to the inscriptions which mention a certain Mallikārjuna-yūgi who flourished in the 12th century. Though these are helpful enough to fix the time of Nanne-Chōḍa about 1120-1150 A.D. Mr. Lakshmiipathi Sastri rejects the evidentiary value of these inscriptions to establish the time of Nanne-Chōḍa beyond doubt, without however properly discussing them.

It is disappointing to see that Mr. Sastri does not in his very elaborate and sometimes very prolix treatise acknowledge in fairness the opinions of the precious writers whose views he adopted. His *Critique* could easily have been curtailed to half of its present bulk. It is nevertheless valuable work. It exhorts scholars to take up immediately the work of exploring inscriptional and other unimpeachable evidence to fix the time of Nanne-Chōḍa with certainty. As observed by Mr. K. Ramakrishnaiah in his preface, Mr. Sastri's *Critique* really brings out also the immediate necessity of having a new and revised edition of this important work, *Kumarasambhavam*, with correct readings and erudite notes.

B. TAMMAYYA.

**Navanāthacharitra** by GAURANA (*Madras University Series No. 7*) edited by Mr. K. Ramakrishnaiah M.A. Pages 481+39. Price: Rs. 5/6.

Among writers of Dvīpādakāvya in Telugu literature, Gaurana occupies a high place of esteem next to Pāṇkuriki Sōmanātha and Panzanātha. He flourished in the 14th century. His *Harichandra-pāṇḍhānam* which was published long ago, and followed by Śankara Kavi and Vīraśarabha Kavi who wrote the same work in non-dvīpāda metres, has gained distinction as a dvīpāda-kāvya of high order. Another dvīpāda work of this celebrated poet is *Navanāthacharitra*. Manuscripts of this work are rare. A single palm leaf manuscript in a very worn condition and two paper manuscripts evidently copied therefrom only are available in the Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. For want of better manuscripts the publication of this work has long been delayed. It is now gratifying that the Madras University has taken up the publication of the work and issued a neat and decent edition thereof under the editorship of Mr. K. Ramakrishnaiah M.A., Head of the Telugu Department. The work deals with the adventures of nine Salva saints—Siddhas—known as Navanāthas.

Gaurana describes at length in *Navanāthacharitra* the pomp, grandeur and penitential austerities etc. of Śāns: Bhikṣā-vṛitti-yātrāvara and states that he had composed this *Kāvya* at his command, following the work of Ūṇḍirī-kavi and so dedicated it to Mallikārjuna. *Navanāthacharitra* seems to be superior to *Harichandra-pāṇḍhānam* which was also dedicated to Gaurana's *Leṇḍāraiva* Mallikārjuna. Gaurana's poetic talents reached perfection and sweet elegance in the later work. Like



many other saivite poets Gaurana did not make mention of any non-Saivite Telugu poets in this work and among Sanskrit poets he cited only the Saivite poets like Kālidāsa and Bāṇa.

Gaurana followed the foot steps of the celebrated Viśaīva poet Pāṅkuriki Sōmanātha though he has not mentioned his name in his works. Like Sōmanātha he composed both his *hāsyas* in *dvipada* metre to gain popularity among masses and showed a predilection for 'Jñānu-Telugu' and for 'anuprāsā' among *Siddhāntakāras*. There are several Jñānu-Telugu words in *Navanātha-charitra* some of which are not found in other works or lexicons. The correct meaning and philology of several Telugu words like బరిసెనము, వకారము, పాకినాణి, used by him in the work require investigation by scholars.

The *prāsa-vāṇī* which is so much advocated by Sōmanātha is used by Gaurana in a few places in this work (statement of the editor in the preface that it has not been used is not correct) and like Sōmanātha he has taken the liberty of breaking down some worthless conventions of grammar and prosody, *śikṣaṅga* *gati*, *prāsa* between the two *rāṣas* *anvārita* and *anvāṇṇa*, *śikṣāśikṣa* *anvāṇṇa*, *śikṣā* and *anvāṇṇa* *anvāṇṇa* between Sanskrit & Telugu words are freely used; and *śikṣā* *anvāṇṇa* like చుడవొక్కడు, అవనదీ, ప్రవహుల వోగులు, నిర్మలీపు, and colloquial words like బుచ్చి క్కి, పంజెంకొనేట, చాయినేర్పు, చాయంపవలె, గొప్పలు, వోరాము, వేరము (or వేయడము) are not uncommon.

Gaurana's descriptions of nature are vivid and graphic. His picturesque depiction of the apparel and demeanour of persons of the low class like shepherds, lowlers and chucklers is really commendable. The stock of words displayed by him in the discourse between Gōrakṣa and Mīnanātha in reciting the names of several cattle diseases is worth reading.

Among the nine *rasas*, *hāsyā rasa* is not much developed by the ancient Telugu poets. It is very pleasing to note that Gaurana is an exception. The parody employed by him in depicting the simulations of the *Vaṇchaka Purāṇita* in *Navanātha-Charitra* and *Kāṣakāṣika* in *Harīśchandra-pāṇḍya* entitle him to a high place among Telugu humourists.

In his preface to the work, the editor has not attempted to fix the time of the Navanāthas. If credence is to be given to the efficacy of the *Siddha Vidya* practised by them it may be considered that they lived for several centuries. But some of the historical personages mentioned in the work may be of some help to fix the time of the *Siddhas*. Gōrakṣa, the favourite and foremost disciple of Mīnanātha is described in this work as well as in *Prabhulingāṣṭa* as having finally derived the knowledge of conquering *Māyā* from the celebrated Viśaīva

saint Allamaprabhu. Again another *Siddha* named Vyāli is mentioned as having lost his life owing to the treachery of King Ballaha of Kalyan' who in his own turn perished ere long together with his dynasty by the curse of that *Siddha*. Ballaha seems to be no other than King Bijjala who ruled at Kalyan from 1156 to 1165 A.D. Both Allamaprabhu and Bijjala were contemporaries of Basavēśvara, and it is therefore evident that most of these *Siddhas* belonged to the 12th century.

Mr. Kamakshaçayya has, no doubt rendered inestimable service to the Andara literature by bringing out an excellent edition of one of the finest *deipāda kāvya*s in Telugu. His work, however, lacks completeness in as much as he has left out several readings of passages uncorrected. The literary value of his work would have been considerably enhanced if such errors and printing mistakes had been avoided.

B. TAMMAYYA.

**Vaikhāṇasa Dharma Sūtra.** With an Introduction & Translation by Prof. K. KANACHAVALUR, M.A., B.L., Maharajah's College, Vizianagaram. Published by the Ramanojachari Oriental Institute.

It is a translation of the *Dharma Sūtras* of the Vaikhāṇasas. In an exhaustive introduction and translation in which a detailed account of the Vaikhāṇasa hermits from the earliest times has been given. The term is now used to denote a sub sect amongst the Brāhmaṇa Vaiṣṇavas in South India. In the Viṣṇu temples of South India, the priests or the *archakas* are of this sect and they follow *Viśākṣana Kalpa Sūtra* in their *Sāstraka* and *Pañtanika* ceremonies. The *Vaiśāṇava Āgamas* deal with the cult and worship of Vāsudeva, Nārāyaṇa etc., showing that it was prevalent in South India from the early centuries of Christian era. The Viṣṇu temples, according to *Viśākṣaprayam* dated before Christ, were mostly located in forest regions. Evidently, Viṣṇu, or Māyōn as he was called, was the first God and the Viṣṇu worshippers or Vaikhāṇasas were leading the life of hermits. Thus, in the early centuries after Christ, the cult of Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa became prevalent in the whole of South India and the *archakas* in these temples came to be called Vaikhāṇasas (forest hermits). Thus the sub sect of Vaiṣṇavas came into existence.

These people observed Vedic sacrifices and performed the several rites according to the Śrauta and Grihya Sūtras. In this book, complete rules relating to the hermit life of this sect are given and they resemble closely those given in the law code of Bandhāyana. Some of the Rules relate (1) to the eating of cooked or uncooked food, (2) to the keeping or not keeping a wife (3) to suffer bodily mortification for controlling the senses (4) to live according to Nature and to move about with the beasts and birds and live like them.

This *Dharma Sūtra* consists of three *prafas*, the first being divided into 11 *kāṇḍas*, the second and the third into 13 each. In the first *prafas*, the origin of caste, the rights and duties of the twice-born and the *Sūtra*, the position of the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Gṛahṇas* are described. The footnotes which are given at the bottom to explain the several technical terms used in the *Sūtra* are very useful.

The second *Prafas* deals with the life of a *samādhi* (a hermit in the forest—his *Sāmapaka* sacrifice, his ten *Niyamas* (Bodily practices) and his ten *gṛamas* (penances) and his meditation to realise the Supreme Soul. The life and duties of a student are then described. The third *prafas* deals with the ordinary duties of a house-holder and the moral rules he should observe. Castes and mixed castes and the professions they should take up are dealt with in the third *prafas*.

The author deserves congratulations on the scholarly way in which he has edited the work. The introduction which is nearly half of the work is very valuable as it gives an excellent historical narrative of the *Vaiśvānara*.

R. SETHA RAO, M.A., L.T.

**New Catalogue Catalogorum — *Provisional Fasciculus*.** A complete and up-to-date Alfabetical Register of Sanskrit and Allied Works and Authors. Published under the authority of the University of Madras 1937.

Many important and valuable collections of Sanskrit and Prakrit MSS including Buddhist and Jaina MSS in recent times have rendered it necessary to issue a supplement if not a revised edition of the *Catalogue Catalogorum* of Dr. Aufrecht with which the research scholars all over the world are quite familiar, and which has become incomplete and defective in several ways. It is, therefore, gratifying to see that the need for a supplemental or revised *Catalogue Catalogorum* has been rightly recognised at the proper moment by the Madras University. Though Madras had in the past lagged behind in encouraging Sanskrit scholarship, it is gratifying to note that it is now forging ahead by taking up this stupendous cultural task of thoroughly revising, remedying the defects and publishing the *New Catalogue Catalogorum*. The University is to be congratulated on securing a very able Editorial Board which is presided over by the most distinguished veteran savant *Mahamahopādhyāya* Prof. S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI and an able band of young and enthusiastic scholars to carry on the great task. In this colossal cultural work the University has fortunately secured the sympathetic co-operation of several learned societies, public and private libraries, Native States, Universities and individual scholars. The main plan of the present work is not materially different from the earlier *Catalogue Catalogorum* except for the additions which have become necessary to make a work of this magnitude and importance as valuable and indispensable to the research worker as possible. The *Provisional Fasciculus* before us promises to be a great work and we wish the University of Madras success in this venture.

**Art and Archaeology Abroad.** By KALIDAS NAG, M.A., (Cal.) D.Litt., (Paris) University of Calcutta, 1937. With a coloured plate (*Frontispiece*) and illustrations. Pp. 126.

This publication is a report intended primarily for the Indian students desiring to specialise in those subjects in the research centres of Europe and America submitted by Dr. Kalidas Nag to the University of Calcutta, as Ghose Travelling Fellow, 1930-31. The pan-Asiatic character of the Indian Art and the international trend of the ancient Indian civilisation are well demonstrated in this beautifully written book by a detailed description of the numerous museums and other centres of Art in France, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, Greece and United States of America. In this work Dr. Nag has surveyed the institutions and schools of Europe and U.S.A., the special arrangements made and facilities afforded for the collection and co-ordination of data of arts and archaeology as well as the methods of teaching these subjects in some of the important centres so far as they favourably affect the line of training in our Universities in the field of art and archaeology. Beyond doubt these academies and museums of Europe and America present a gigantic field for study. One thing that any body who reads this very interesting report will not fail to notice is how utterly poor is our country in the matter of museums and art centres when compared with the countries of Europe. Invaluable treasures of art and antiquities from India were already removed to U.S.A. and Europe and still they continue to be removed from this country. Once they are removed, they are rarely replaced. India is helplessly exposed to foreign exploitation and unique specimens of art and antiquities permanently lost to India now adorn the Museums of London, Paris, Boston and New York. India should follow here the examples set by Egypt and Japan where the strict 'laws of national treasures' enforce the safe custody of such relics in the national sites and museums. A national awakening and healthy self assertion has to grow in this land of ours for preserving our treasures in this country. The University of Calcutta has done a very laudable thing in publishing so useful a book as this. This book is not merely instructive; it reveals the inestimable possibilities for enterprising Indian students. We look forward eagerly for the promised publication of our Author '*Monuments and Museums of the Far East*' with its wealth of illustrations.

B. V. KRISHNA RAO.

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### ERRATA.

*Ante* page 37. In "A Note on the Date of the Velichery Grant", read in line 5 from above *Suklo* for *Pardhāpi*.



